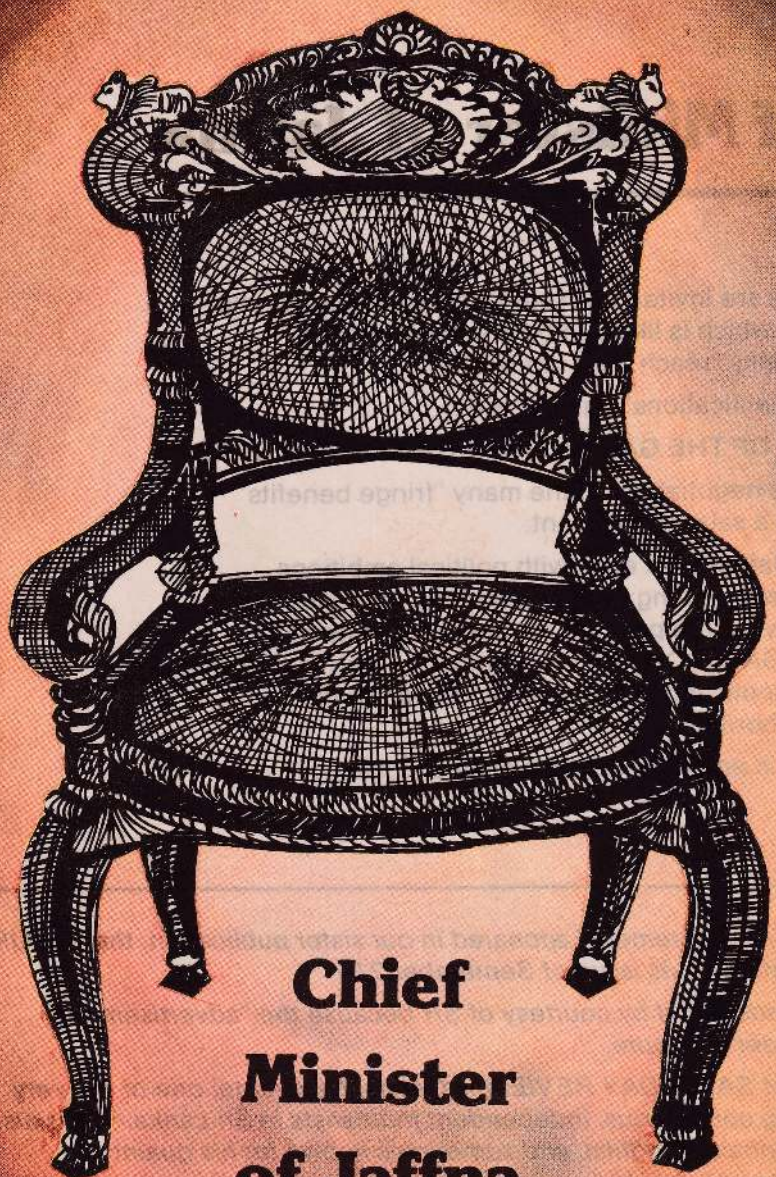
TAMIL Information

VACANCIES !



Chief Minister of Jaffna

Please turn the cover for particulars of Advertisement

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Issue No.: 10
1st October 1985

Chief Minister of Jaffna

Applications are invited from suitable candidates for the above post, which is likely to be created once the "Timbuctu talks" reach their finale.

The main qualifications required are :

THE GIFT OF THE GAB AND THE GIFT OF THE GRAB

The salary is negotiable but the many "fringe benefits" would make a salary redundant.

Persons in Jaffna or in exile with political ambitions who have been waiting in the wings for a long time and wish to apply for the post are requested to write in to The Editor, SATURDAY REVIEW, with full "curriculum vitae" so that the applications could be forwarded to the relevant authorities.

Canvassing in any form will be a disqualification.

The above "Advertisement" appeared in our sister publication, the SATURDAY REVIEW, Jaffna, in its issue of September 21.

We are reproducing it by courtesy of SR because the "advertisement" deserves wider exposure.

The Editor of SATURDAY REVIEW is Gamini Navaratne, one of the very few surviving courageous, independent journalists in Sri Lanka. He is also an authentic Sinhala Buddhist, and sometimes known for his quaint vitriolic sense of humour.

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TAMIL Information

Editor: S. Sivanayagam

For Private Circulation

Issue No 10
1st October 1985

Published on behalf of the Tamil Information Centre, 3rd Floor, 24-28 Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UR, United Kingdom

The Price of Violence !

S. SIVANAYAGAM

It was the 5th April, 1956. Almost a 30-year old memory. I was journeying to Colombo from Jaffna, and had boarded the night mail at Kokuvil, one station north of Jaffna. I had found myself a comfortable corner seat in a 3rd class compartment, and in those days, (as it is probably even now) securing a corner seat in a Jaffna-Colombo train was no mean achievement. When the train grated to a halt at the Jaffna station, the sight that met my eyes puzzled me. Instead of the usual bustling and jostling with people charging in with upraised bags and baggage there was a kind of mute inactivity. People were talking in whispers or gazing at the train with a look of vacant doubt, and most of them making no attempt to get in. What had happened ? I leaned out of the window and collared the nearest man at the platform. It appeared that there was "trouble" in Colombo, he said. What kind of trouble, I asked him. He did not know. No one seemed to know. Even the train was taking a long time to make up its mind to move. I shrugged my shoulders and sat back. The young blood in me told me that whatever trouble it was, it should be well within my capacity to manage. Besides, I was in no mood to throw away my hard-earned corner seat. But I was wrong.

History was made in Ceylon that day. A new sordid chapter had begun. The seeds of division of the country was sown that morning in Ceylon's Parliament. That was the day the "Sinhala Only" Act was passed. That was the day that Sinhala mobs, for the first time, began to lay their hands on Tamils with impunity. That was the day Tamil leaders who sat in silent Gandhian non-violent protest – in close proximity to the Parliament building – were surrounded by a hostile mob and set upon with stones. That was the day when the ruling Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike ordered a helpless Police force not to interfere; the day when Sri Lankan governments began the process of SANCTIONING violence against Tamils, a process which today has culminated in open State War against them.

All that, I was to know only later. Hugging the pillow that I carried, I went to sleep in my corner seat, unmindful of history, unaware that I was to have a brush with Death the next morning. That brush with Death came when a gang of ruffians got into the train at Ragama looking for Tamils to assault and kill. Almost pushed out of a moving train, if I managed to survive without loss of life or limb, it was probably a combination of tenacity and good luck that saved me. But I had learnt my lesson on that morning of 6th April, 30 years ago, a lesson that all Tamils continue to learn to this day : Death by violence could come to you in Sri Lanka for no other reason than that you are born a Tamil. That is a terrible feeling to live with, in one's own country, in the land of one's birth, the land in which one's ancestors had lived, and sometimes ruled, for centuries. ►

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Mob violence is one thing, but mob violence sanctioned by society and government is quite another. It must be said to the credit of the Sinhala people that while successive governments (with one possible exception – that of Dudley Senanayake) found it profitable to fan the flames of anti-Tamil violence through a series of acts of omission and commission, they, as a people, managed to stay outside that self-destroying process until around the mid-seventies. But they could not withstand the pressure for long. When the 1977 riots began, it was evident that mob violence had begun to earn popular approval and sanction in the south. An aggressive chauvinism had entered the Sinhala blood stream. By July 1983, both the State and the Sinhala people had begun to identify themselves with anti-Tamil violence. The Sinhalese who were able to stand outside this process were reduced to the position of an ineffective minority.

Violence they say breeds more violence, which of course is an often repeated truism. But interestingly enough when cowardly violence is met with a timid response, that also can breed more violence. The fact was, all Sinhala mob violence was cowardly in nature, and all Tamil response was timid in reply. Every time they were attacked, the Tamils only ran. They never stood their ground, except in a few instances in the plantation areas. There is also a streak in the Sinhala character that adulates *successful* violence, and despises failure. The Sri Lankan National Flag and official Emblem showing a ferocious-looking lion holding a sword in its paw in symbolic of Sinhala attitude and in fact representative of the in-built pre-disposition towards violence in the Sinhala character. Which other nation or people would have been foolish enough to adopt such a motif to flaunt national pride ? On the other side of the fence, a totally unexpected development changed the whole pattern of happenings. Came the Tamil "Tiger" ! A Tamil society, that was phlegmatic and conservative, that revelled in pen-pushing and pensions, hankering after dowries and security, that worshipped Mahatma Gandhi and Non-violence and certainly had no stomach for violence suddenly found itself giving total sanction to Violence, and taking pride in "our boys". How did this sudden transformation occur ? Here is the rationale. Says a Western writer, Joel Kovel :

"When the conditions for nonviolent development are absent, and a people is subjected to the rule of murderous gangsters, then armed struggle is the only recourse of dignity; that is, it becomes the lesser violence and the assertion of the human powers of self-determination. Violence by the oppressed is always less violent morally – and usually substantially less violent practically – than violence by the oppressor. This is because of oppressor is violent with a bad conscience ..." (Against the State of Nuclear Terror – Crucible : Science in Society).

What the Tamil youths launched was not only the violence of the oppressed and an assertion of the power of self-determination, but violence within a Discipline. This was in stark contrast to the undisciplined violence of the Sinhala mobs and the ill-disciplined violence of the Sri Lankan armed forces. When the Sri Lankan government spokesmen and the Colombo media work themselves into a fury over the "menace" of Terrorism, and overwork all adjectives in the Queen's English to describe it, what they exhibit is really a feeling of helplessness in the face of defensive disciplined violence, a phenomenon which they were never used to.

But ironically enough when the Sri Lanka government continues to pay a heavy price for its policy of violence, the Tamils are paying their price right now for the imposed ceasefire that came in May and the Thimphu phase that followed. Violence that was disciplined and designed for the people's liberation struggle, suddenly snatched of its direction, and deprived of its momentum, is turning inward. This is a tragic trend that all genuine liberation forces have to check. Writing in the first issue of TAMIL INFORMATION (then Tamil International) in July 1984, we said :

Tamil society has also to learn to look inward. A clinical introspection is essential. Every society carries with it some canker in its vitals, which if not cleansed, can lead to its own destruction. Intolerance and factionalism, inability to accept a contrary point of view, self-inflated egoism, malice and mud-slinging are neither healthy nor happy attributes in a people fighting oppression and waging a struggle for liberation. If this debilitating process is not checked in time, that will be a sure way of defeating ourselves before the enemy defeats us. All guns need steady hands, but if they are used in the cause of liberation, they need CLEAN hands as well.

We said it one year and three months ago. We now repeat it with greater relevance and with a greater sense of urgency. If what the Sinhala people learnt to sanction was indisciplined violence what the Tamils sanctioned ws DISCIPLINED violence, nothing less. If Tamil militant groups do not realise that, they would be forefeiting the trust that their people reposed on them. Once that trust is lost, no liberation movement can ever survive for long. ■

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What it costs Sri Lanka to kill Tamils !

The following news item appeared in the Sri Lanka government-owned newspaper the DAILY NEWS of August 17, 1985, under the headline "Danger signals in economy, says Ronnie" :-

Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel warned of "danger signals" in the economy and said prospects for the second half of the year did not "appear very favourable". The 1985 budget was estimated to be in deficit of over Rs.5000 million, the Minister said. This is a turnaround of Rs.6700 million from earlier estimates of the budget which promised a Rs.1700 million surplus.

"If we are unable to keep defence expenditure down due to increasing tension in the country, our efforts to reduce the budget deficit and enhance capital investment will not be successful", he said.

Mr. de Mel has gone on record saying that the country's defence spending this year exceeded Rs.2000 million over and above the budgeted Rs.3600 million. Defence expenditure cost of country Rs.16 million a day, he had said.

"The overall deficit may rise to 16 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP), while the projected rate of growth in inflation may turn out to be between eight and ten per cent by the end of the year...

He stressed that foreign aid and the creation of domestic credit alone could not help growth and create employment. The mere injection of money without natural and human resources to back it, aggravated inflation rather than help the economy to grow, he said...

Mr. de Mel was speaking at a seminar on "Profitability through materials management under inflationary conditions" at the Hotel Lanka Oberoi on Thursday.

Rs.5000 million deficit in 1985, Rs.32000 million in 1986 !

"The Island" of 24th August reports :

A Press release of the Ministry of Finance and Planning said yesterday that the preliminary estimates of revenue and expenditure now being prepared by the Treasury indicate the total expenditure for 1986 at Rs.69000 million and estimated revenue at Rs.37000 leaving an overall budget deficit of Rs.32000 million. The Finance Minister has told the government that the overall budget deficit was "unsustainable by any standards"...

THE WORLD BANK AND OTHERS HAD HELPED PROJECTS LIKE THE MAHAVELI BECAUSE OF THE FAITH THEY HAD IN PRESIDENT JAYEWARDENE
WHATEVER THEY SAY IT IS I WHO MUST FIND THE MONEY!
ETHNIC PROBLEM

Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel with his begging bowl as seen by Sri Lankan cartoonist Wijesoma.

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As THE TIMES, London sees it

MONDAY AUGUST 26 1985

CLOSER TO CIVIL WAR

The second round of peace talks to settle the deeply entrenched communal rift in Sri Lanka collapsed in discord last week. It had been expected that they would provide the framework for a resolution of the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict. Instead they became lost in the cavernous divide that separates the two sides.

Worse still, with the entailed embarrassment of the Indian government, which had sponsored the talks, the best remaining hope of resolution has faded. Now Sri Lanka is not just back to square one but very possibly on the brink of civil war.

The primary responsibility for this outcome rests with the authorities in Colombo. At the June summit between Sri Lanka's President Jayawardene and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, which laid the foundations for the three-months ceasefire and the Bhutan negotiations, the Sri Lankans appeared to be willing to accept reality and make meaningful concessions to the Tamils. It was understood that these would include a substantial devolution of power. In turn the Indians cajoled the Tamil guerrillas, based in South India, into forsaking their demand for an independent Eelam.

Yet when the two sides met in Thimpu for the first set of talks the Sri Lankan team failed to match that expectation. The peace process was saved by an adjournment and by the time the second round began earlier this month, the Indian's had secured reconfirmation from President Jayawardene of his willingness to compromise. Indeed on this occasion the president even went on record claiming that he was confident of "good results". But, back at the negotiation table, his delegation once again had little to offer, and as tensions on the island flared up with the massacre at Vavuniya, the Tamil delegates walked out of the talks. The Tamils, it is believed would have settled for control of finance, education and law and order. Certainly Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had repeatedly and publicly committed himself to supporting no more than the sort of devolution given to the States in India; which he explained, was "considerably less than the American federal system". If President Jayawardene had offered as much Mr. Gandhi could have seen to its acceptance. But the Sri Lankan President was unable to defy his own right wing and the Buddhist clergy, both of whom have refused to countenance any real devolution of power. Consequently, all that was offered was a repackaged version of the district council scheme already rejected by the Tamils in 1984. In the circumstances it was bound to be unacceptable.

For their part the Tamil guerrillas did not assist a solution by formally tabling what they called a "liberation character". In it they demanded from President Jayawardene recognition of a distinct Tamil nationality, of a Tamil homeland and of their right ot self-determination. On the face of it, these claims contradicted any willingness to compromise.

Yet while the peace process was on the Indian Government could have reined in Tamil demands. With its collapse India's capacity and perhaps its willingness to do so could now be in doubt. With a fifty-million strong Tamil population of his own to consider, at best wary of Mr. Gandhi's pressure tactics, he cannot easily repeat his strategy even if Colombo has a sincere and convincing change of heart. Perhaps this is why he chose instead to expel some of the more belligerent guerrilla leaders. It may be a way of putting fresh pressure on the Tamils to make their own concessions, but that is unlikely. Instead, it would suggest that Mr. Gandhi is washing his hands of the problem.

This leaves the Sri Lankan government to face the Tamil, guerrillas on its own. Already the island is effectively split between an embittered Tamil north and east and an unrelenting Sinhalese south and centre. The present flood of refugees towards the areas where their respective communities dominate will further exacerbate this divide. And with the guerrillas having called off the ceasefire, the possibility advances of protracted and bloody civil war. ■

Tamil diplomat's son sues newspaper

Dr. Haritharan Gunasingham, a Senior Lecturer at the University of Singapore, has filed action before the District Court of Colombo suing the Upali Newspapers Ltd., of No.223, Blomendhal Road, Colombo 13 for Rs.5 million as damages following the publication of a report in "The Island" of May 28 under the headline "Ex-DPL's son deported for arms deal in Singapore".

Dr. Gunasingham is the son of Mr. C. Gunasingham, who was High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Singapore from March 1979 to May 1983. He now works in the Presidential Secretariat in Colombo.

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SRI LANKA July-August 1985

2 YEARS AFTER THE HOLOCAUST & GETTING READY FOR ANOTHER ?

"Paradise Isle" Sri Lanka passed through its most horrifying nightmare in the last week of July 1983. Two years have gone since; but that memory is yet fresh and vivid and painful. Is that alone not sufficient indictment on the Jayawardene government ? What has this government, which paraded its belief in "Dharmishtra" (Righteousness) been doing these two years ? What has it done to heal old wounds ? Or is it hell-bent on inflicting new ones ? What has it done to redeem its own country's image that had sunk very low indeed during that week of shame two years ago ? What has it done to prevent another holocaust ? Do Tamils feel more secure in 1985 than they felt in 1983 ? Are at least the Sinhala people feeling secure in the land which they had been claiming exclusively their own ?

Here is a phantasmagoric view of the Sri Lanka scene in July-August 1985, as reflected in reports in the Sri Lanka Press itself. It provides all the answers. This montage is made up of reports that appeared in 2 newspapers: the government-controlled DAILY NEWS: the independent THE ISLAND; The headlines above the reports are ours

— Editor TAMIL INFORMATION.

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A crushing thought by President J

President J.R. Jayawardene, in an interview with the Indian magazine "Gentleman" has attributed the rise of terrorism to the apathy of all governments including his own. "We should have crushed it at the very beginning when they started demanding a separate state", he has said ....

(The Island — 22nd July)

Rs.70 million to bail out hotel industry

On a recommendation by the Minister of State, Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis, the Cabinet of Ministers on Wednesday decided to pump up to Rs.70 million to bail out the hotel industry which has been adversely affected by the ethnic troubles in the country....

(The Island — 19th July)

General's "cease-fire visit" to China

Beijing-July 18 — Lt. Gen. Tissa Indraka Weeratunga, Sri Lanka's Commander of Joint Operations, visited a Chinese Army Unit and an Air Force Unit stationed in Beijing on Tuesday. There, he watched a shooting exercise by soldiers and an air show ....

(The Island — 19th July)

So, Prabhakaran was in Jaffna !

Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran had been in the north over the week-end, landing at Point Pedro and meeting some of his key lieutenants, authoritative sources indicated on Tuesday.

(Daily News — 25th July)

Army officers charge into a train !

Two Army officers were killed when the motor cycle they were riding ploughed into a train at an unprotected level crossing in Induruwa during the early hours of yesterday. Police said that the two victims had been on their way to the Panagoda Army camp....

(The Island — 19th July)

Sinhala soldier missing in Vavuniya

Security forces are searching the Vavuniya district for Private Nimal Jayawardene, a soldier posted to a unit in Jaffna, who was kidnapped from his home in Vavuniya. A tip-off that the soldier had been killed and his body was lying in Parakulam was investigated, but no body was found ....

(Daily News — 29th July)

"Stern warning from Rajiv to Tamil militants"

New Delhi, July 16 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has issued a stern warning to Sri Lankan guerrillas that they do not have India's support for their separatist war. The Press Trust of India (PTI) quoted Gandhi as telling reporters in the southern city Madras last night that India did not support Tamil militants' hit-and-run war for an independent state for the island's 2.5 million minority ....

(The Island — 17th July)

Coconut prices continue to fall

The price of coconuts continue to be on the downward trend despite all efforts of the government to arrest falling prices ...

(Daily News — 18th July)

Security position better, says Lalith

There were definite signs of improvement in the country's security position and money in the National Defence Fund may be spent on development, National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali said on Tuesday... "There are signs of the situation improving and I wonder what to do with the money", Mr. Athulathmudali said. He said NDF had now over Rs.40 million ...

(Daily News — 18th July)

Sinhala families chased away, says ISLAND

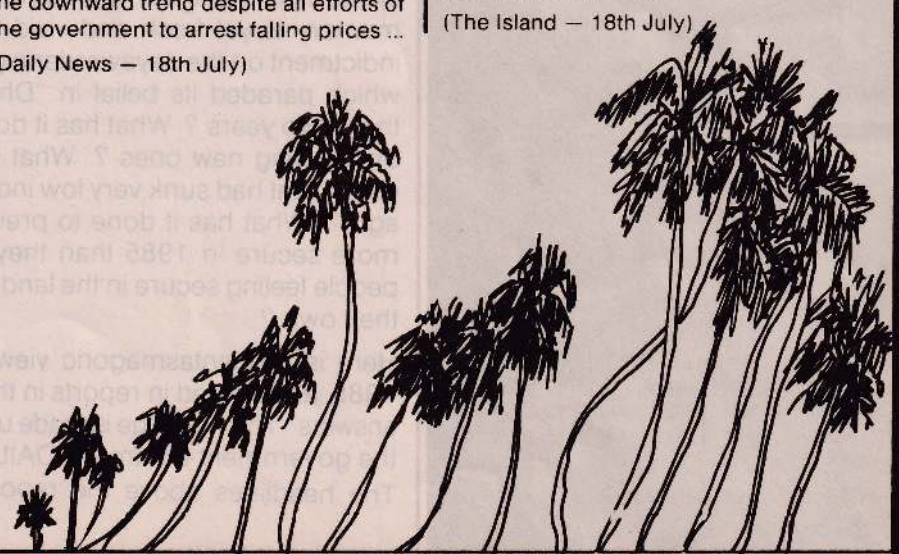
Security sources revealed that a group of terrorists had attacked a village in Vavuniya, Pavatkulam, and chased a number of Sinhala families last Monday. Those families are now staying in the Buddhist temples in the area. About 400 are said to be affected ....

(The Island — 18th July)

Sinhalese girl was helping EROS ?

Police yesterday took into custody the fiancee of Ranjan the absconding member of the EROS group believed to have been responsible for plotting the assassination of the President last week. Sapugaskanda Police yesterday arrested a girl, a Sinhalese an uncle and one of her brothers... The love affair between Ranjan and the girl had started during the time he was working in the Telecommunications Department... Meanwhile, four Tamil women who had allegedly assisted the terrorist suspects were also taken into custody in colombo by the CID yesterday...

(The Island — 18th July)



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Police Sergeant too was helping EROS ?

Further inquiries have revealed that the Police Sergeant of the Cinnamon Gardens Police, who was taken into custody on Wednesday in connection with the attempted assassination of the President had been spending the previous night with members of the EROS organisation ....

(The Island — 19th July)

Bombs came in salt bags, say Police

Police investigations into the abortive attempt to assassinate the President has revealed that the two bombs weighing 70 and 50 kilos had been brought to Colombo from Puttalam hidden inside salt bags and transported in a lorry bringing salt... Meanwhile reports reaching Colombo say that a boat taken into custody by the Puttalam Police contained 2000 kilos of Indian made gelignite ....

(The Island — 18th July)

P.C. shoots P.C. at Beliatta

A Police constable attached to the Beliatta Police Station is reported to have been shot dead by a fellow constable. The dead policeman has been identified as Karunasena ....

(The Island — 18th July)

Tamil youth in Colombo Park suspected

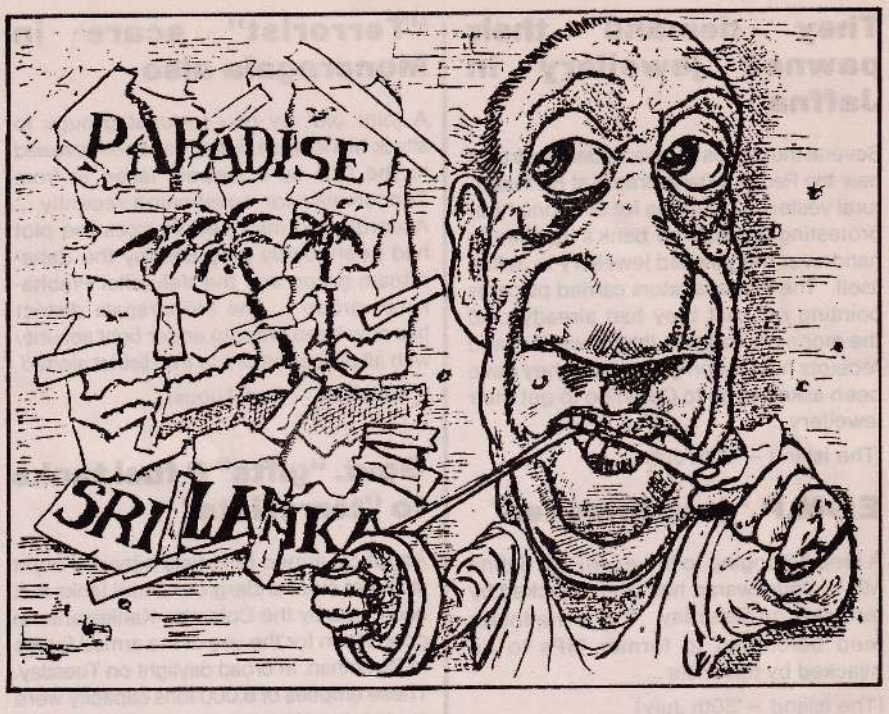
A Tamil youth who had entered the Vihara Maha Devi Park on Monday was handed over on suspicion by the park security to the Cinnamon Gardens Police.

(The Island — 17th July)

Heavy steel object off southern coast

Mystery surrounds a heavy steel object, similar to a mine, found by a fisherman off the coast of Bandarawatte in the Ahungalla Police area. The mine 1½ feet in height had a yellow protective covering with a warning to inform the nearest Police on finding the object ....

(The Island — 17th July)



Raja sheds a tear for President !

Raja, the Maligawa tusker, relieved of the casket and the perahera regalia on Thursday knelt in veneration before the Dalada and onlookers said there were tears in his eyes. Later, the tusker called on President Jayawardene and one of those present said that the President too had commented on the tears ...

(Daily News — 3rd August)

Premadasa in the foot-steps of the Mahatma

'What is preferable, a Grama Rajaya, a village minding its own business as a self-governing unit in the general framework of the country, or a senseless division of the country ?'. Prime Minister Premadasa posed this question at a large-attended meeting at Puhulwatte... The Prime Minister said that in his opinion if there had been grama rajayas in India according to the Mahatma's ideal, instead of the federal form of government, India would not have the problems it faced today ...

(Daily News — 5th August)

Lalith reveals a sense of humour

A team led by Deputy Minister of Justice Shelton Ranaraja will visit the United States of America to examine how the US government has dealt with human rights problems there... Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali revealed this in Kandy yesterday. The visit is a prelude to establishing a separate department... Tamils, Sinhalese, Muslims and any other community could go before this body ...

(Daily News — 5th August)

Moratuwa undergrad & that Maggie bomb

Investigators working on last week's bomb plot believe that a Moratuwa undergrad now in custory, had a hand in the blast that tripped through the airport railway station on th eve of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's arrival. The engineering student, Jayakumar, was taken into custody last Thursday...

(Daily News — 18th July)

Two "farmers" shot through their ears

Two dead bodies of farmers with gunshot injurites injuries through their ears, hands tied behind and eyes covered, were recovered by the Pulmoddai Police in the jungle area at the 4th mile post in between Thennamarawadi and Kokilai lagoon. The two bodies were identified as that of Amarasinghe Arachige Piyadasa (42) and Medagedera Jayasinghe (45), farmers both of Siri Tissapura Track No.13 in Pulmoddai Police area ...

(The Island — 20th July)

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They demand their pawned jewellery in Jaffna

Several thousands of people demonstrated near the People's Bank Branch at Kankesanturai yesterday morning for over one hour protesting against the bank's inability to hand over the pawned jewellery in Jaffna itself. The demonstrators carried placards pointing out that they had already paid the money to redeem their jewellery and receipts have been given. But they have been asked to go to Colombo to get their jewellery ...

(The Island — 30th July)

Ex-M.P.' jeep hijacked

A jeep belonging to the ex-MP for Jaffna Mr. V. Yogeswaran has been hijacked by terrorists on Saturday. This is the fourth jeep belonging to former MPs to be hijacked by terrorists ...

(The Island — 30th July)

Decomposed body on the road

A decomposed body of a 23-year old youth was recovered by the Kantalai Police on the Allai-Kantalali Road last Friday. The body was identified as that of Ekanayake Mudiyansalage Dharmasiri (23) of Dehiwatte of Mutur Police area who was living with his parents at Kantalai after the recent disturbances in Dehiwatte ...

(The Island — 30th July)

Sinhala families leave Vavuniya

Several Sinhala families in colonies in the Vavuniya district are reported to have left their homes in fear of terrorist attacks...

(The Island — 31st July)

Deported from France, arrested in Colombo

Two Sri Lanka Tamil youths who were deported by the French authorities as they did not possess proper visas were arrested on arrival at Katunayake International Airport... The two youths, Kanapathipillai Vijayarajan (28) from Murusamootai, Kilinochchi and Newton Kulasekaran (22) from Mirusivil, Chavakachcheri were questioned by Airport Police and later sent to the CID for further questioning.

(The Island — 1st August)

"Terrorist" scare in Moneragala also

A joint plot by two terrorist groups to attack Moneragala district has been revealed to the CID by a suspect taken in from Trincomalee for questioning recently ... According to informed sources the plot had been jointly proposed by the Sabaratnam group and the Velupillai Prabhakaran group... The Moneragala district has now been brought under tight security with all police stations in the district alerted.

(The Island — 2nd August)

Govt. "gifts" 8 fuel tanks to "terrorists"

About 50 armed terrorists hijacked eight stainless steel underground fuel tanks that had come by the Colombo-Kankesanturai goods train for the use of the armed forces in Paranthan, in broad daylight on Tuesday. These empties of 8,000 tons capacity were meant for the services to stock their requirements of petrol, diesel and kerosene.

(The Island — 2nd August)

No "terrorist" killed him

Sub-Inspector Vitharana of the Medirigiriya Police was killed accidentally while practising shooting at a shooting range in the Trincomalee area. According to Police, the gun in the hand of another officer standing by SI Vitharana went off accidentally ...

(The Island — 25th July)

Nikaweratiya : All but one freed

Thirty six of the 37 suspects arrested in connection with the terrorist attack at Nikaweratiya were discharged by Fort Magistrate Mr. S.I. Imam for lack of evidence. These Tamil youths had been rounded up from Colombo eating in houses and jewellery shops where they were employed.

(The Island — 25th July)

Bombs on the beach

Two bombs were discovered on the beach at Andimuna in the Puttalam Police area Puttalam Police reported yesterday. The bombs, according to the Police, have been made in India ...

(The Island — 23rd July)

Armed forces occupy remand jail

The absence of a remand jail in the North has resulted in suspects taken into custody even on major charges being released on bail... The situation has arisen as a result of the armed services occupying the former remand jail in the Jaffna Fort ...

(The Island — 3rd August)

Medawachchiya Residents are scared

The people of Medawachchiya have asked for a temporary army detachment to protect the villages from terrorist attacks... According to the prevailing situation in the event of an emergency, army reinforcements would have to come from Vavuniya, Padaviya or Anuradhapura...

(The Island — 5th August)

Going to India after training in Sri Lanka

Four terrorist suspects arrested by Police at Manampitiya on Monday told Police they were going back to India after 15 days' training in a terrorist camp at Waddumunai near Eravur... Police said the suspects had told them they were members of PLOTE.

(Daily News — 1st August)

Minister on Language and Ethinicity

Language is only a vehicle for the expression of ideas; it is a very poor criterion for the identification of ethnic groups, Lands and Mahaweli Minister Gamini Dissanayake said last week in Gampaha ...

(Daily News — 1st August)

Scare in Anuradhapura also !

Security is being strengthened in the Anuradhapura and Medawachchiya areas following threats made by terrorists to Sinhalese residents in the areas. A gang of terrorists had last week entered the village of Poonawa in Medawachchiya. They had fled when a group of villagers had fired on them. However, police sources said that terrorists had once again appeared and threatened to kill the villagers. Following these threats a number of villagers had left, sources said.

(The Island — 1st August)

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Mahaveli work grinds to a halt

Work at several sites coming under the Accelerated Mahaveli Scheme, in the "B" and "C" areas have come to a standstill, following threats by terrorists. The terrorists have hijacked jeeps, tractors and other machinery from the work sites ..... Contractors engaged in construction work and in the preparation of paddy fields for cultivation by the farmers have fled due to continuing threats by terrorists .....

(The Island - 6th August)

Govt. loses Telecom equipment

A jeep belonging to the Telecommunications Department was hijacked by a group of unidentified youths on the Thambalagamam-Kinniya Road ..... Police said the youths had also taken away telecommunication equipment worth around Rs.1 Lakh .....

(The Island - 6th August)

Will be "flushed out of India shortly"

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali said on Saturday ..... speaking at the final day of the 106th Mahapola held at Ampitiya Maha Vidyalaya ..... that Sri Lankan terrorists living in India will shortly be flushed out. He appealed to the Sinhalese not to have any fear as the government will handle the returning terrorists in a fitting manner. He reminded the people that despite the frantic efforts of the terrorists they have not been able to grab a single inch of land in Sri Lanka.....

(Daily News - 6th August)

Tamil shot dead in a train

Perumal Rasiah Alphonso, former Welfare Officer attached to the Department of Education in Batticaloa was shot dead by unknown persons while he was seated in the second class compartment in the night mail train from Batticaloa to Colombo on August 2 .....

(Daily News - 7th August)

A 10,000 strong Sinhala Auxiliary force

Government has decided to raise a 10,000-man national auxiliary force immediately to assist the armed forces in the defence requirements of the north and east, Cabinet spokesman Dr.Anandatissa de Alwis announced after yesterday's weekly meeting of ministers ..... The cabinet yesterday authorised capital expenditure of Rs.2.5 million and recurrent expenditure of Rs.16 million for the NAF .....

(Daily News - 8th August)

No one wants to be S.P., Jaffna!

The Jaffna Police is operating without a Superintendent for the past several weeks. THE ISLAND understands that this situation had arisen as a result of appeals submitted by senior SPs drafted for compulsory six months service in the north to defer their transfers on medical grounds..... three Superintendents have had their transfers cancelled on medical grounds.....

(The Island - 9th August)

Anura too busy to meet Bhandari

Opposition Leader Mr.Anura Bandaranaike has told the Indian High Commission and the Foreign Ministry that he would not be able to meet Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's special envoy Mr.Romesh Bhandari for talks on Sri Lanka's ethnic issue due to "other commitments" ...

(The Island - 9th August)

Guess who burnt the blue films?

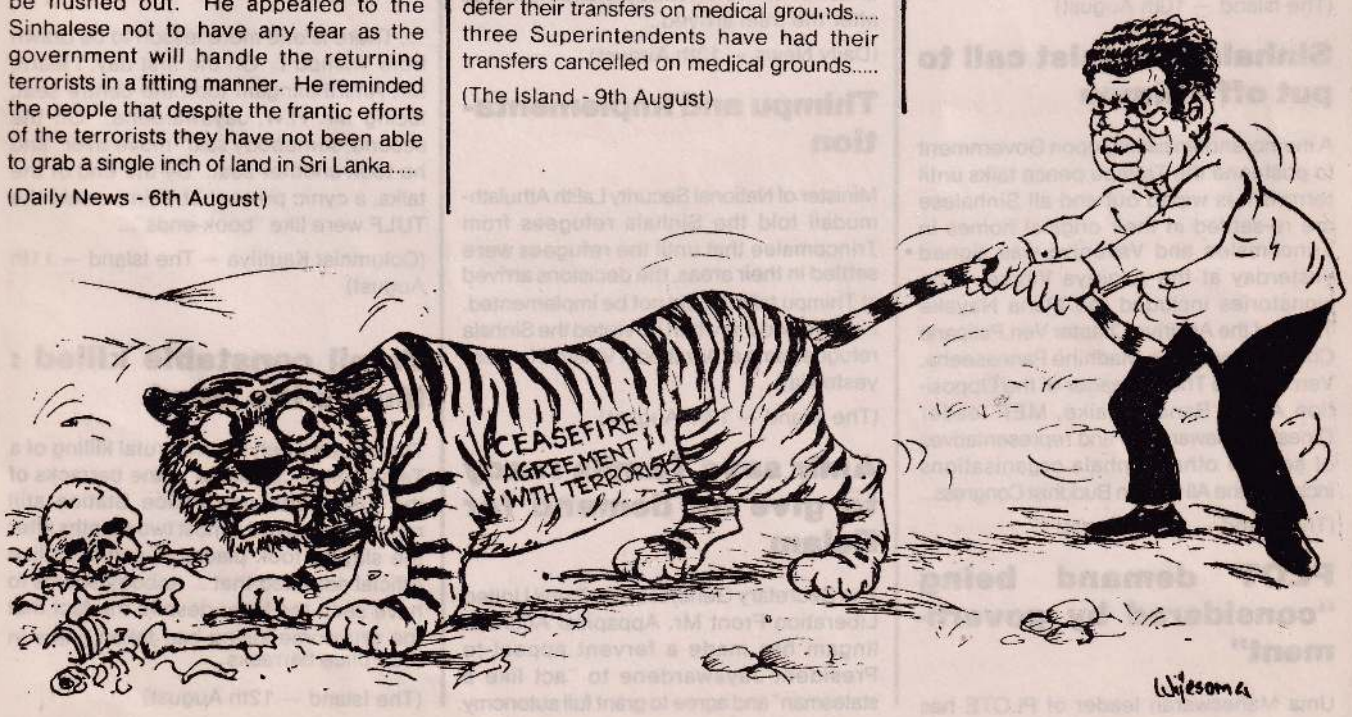
Terrorists are reported to have raided two "mini cinemas" at Jaffna where blue films were being shown. They set the films on fire and warned the exhibitors against showing the public demoralising films.

(The Island - 9th August)

Landmine servers road link

The Trincomalee-Pulmoddai road was cut off following a massive land mine explosion on Wednesday, the SLBC stated. The SLBC quoting security sources added that the LTTE claimed responsibility for the explosion .....

(The Island - 9th August)



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"Terrorists" make them flee

Three hundred families fled the Trikonamaduwa and Kandakaduwa livestock farms after they were threatened by 30 armed terrorists, and have been accommodated at the Welikanda and Kaduruwela livestock farms, officials here (Polonnaruwa) said.
(Daily News — 9th August)

Ex-SLFP organizer obducted

A former SLFP organiser at Vaddukoddai, Mr. V. Rajasunderam, has been abducted from his Chulipuram home. Four armed terrorists arrived there on Wednesday evening and took him away. The reason for the abduction of the former Principal of Victoria College, Chulipuram, is not known.

(Daily News — 9th August)

"Adamant on a State of Eelam"

The five major terrorist groups based in Tamil Nadu have indicated to the Muslim delegation which undertook a peace mission last week that they were adamant on a state of Eelam. A spokesman for the Muslim delegation which was led by Dr. Al-Haj Badiudin Mahmud told "The Island" on arrival from Madras yesterday that the "boys" were "die hard fellows" and bent on Eelam ...

(The Island — 10th August)

Sinhala Buddhist call to put off Thimpu

A memorandum calling upon Government to postpone the Thimpu peace talks until terrorism is wiped out and all Sinhalese are re-settled in their original homes in Trincomalee and Vavuniya was signed yesterday at the Asgiriya Vihare. The signatories included the Maha Nayake Thera of the Asgiriya Chapter Ven.Palipane Chandananda, Ven.Madihe Pannaseeha, Ven.Sobhita Thero, Leader of the Opposition Anura Bandaranaike, MEP leader Dinesh Gunawardene and representatives of several other Sinhala organisations including the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress...

(The Island — 10th August)

PLOT demand being "considered by government"

Uma Maheswaran leader of PLOTE has demanded from Government the release of 20 of his close colleagues now in prison facing charges before the Thimpu talks scheduled to be held on August 12 begins. "The Island" understands this is one of the conditions of PLOTE's participation in the talks ... The demand is now being considered by the government...

(The Island — 10th August)

President Jayawardene's prophecy

New Delhi, Monday (Reuter) — Sri Lankan President Junius Jayawardene said in an interview published yesterday that he was certain his country's ethnic crisis would be resolved at the peace talks which resume today in Bhutan. "They won't fail. I am certain Thimpu II will be a success. I want to settle it this time", Jayawardene said in a front page report in calcutta's "Telegraph" newspaper...

(Daily News — 13th August)

"Time bomb arrives on Yal Devi"

Seven kilos of high explosive arrived in Colombo yesterday aboard the Yal Devi at 6.22 a.m. It was a calling card from the latest group of nothern terrorists to identify themselves — the "Reddish Forces of Tamil Eelam". The bomb, timed to explode at 7.45 a.m. was discovered by a security check at the Fort Railway Station minutes after the train arrived...

(Daily News — 13th August)

Thimpu and Implementation

Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali told the Sinhala refugees from Trincomalee that until the refugees were settled in their areas, the decisions arrived at Thimpu talks would not be implemented. He revealed this when he visited the Sinhala refugee camp at Agrabodhi Vihare, Kantalai, yesterday...

(The Island — 13th August)

Amir says Tamils ready to give up demand for Eelam

The Secretary General of the Tamil United Liberation Front Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam has made a fervent appeal to President Jayawardene to "act like a statesman" and agree to grant full autonomy to the Tamils "because they are ready to give up their demand for a separate state"...

(The Island — 13th August)

Mine kills 4 Policemen

A mine exploded at 6 a.m. yesterday opposite the State Mechanised Carpentry Workshop in Vavuniya killing a Sub-Inspector and three constables who were travelling in a Police jeep at that time. The Sub-Inspector has been identified as Mr. Dassanayake. Two others seriously injured were rushed to the Anuradhapura Hospital... Meanwhile, ten boutiques in Vavuniya town went up in flames ...

(The Island — 11th August)

Daughter accuses "Wild Life" father

Dr. Shelton Atapattu, Director of Wild Life Conservation is charged in the Mount Lavinia Magistrate's Court with haying voluntarily caused hurt to his 19-year old daughter Shereen. The plaint has been filed by Shereen herself charging her father under Section 314 of the Penal Code, which offence carries a penalty of one year's imprisonment ...

(The Island — 11th August)

Mr. Amirthalingam at Thimpu

"... There is one more lesson to be drawn from Thimpu I. On the first day, I learn, Mr. Amirthalingam took the centre seat, facing Mr. H.W. Jayawardene. On the second, somebody said "move over" and he took another seat. By the end of the talks, a cynic present at Thimpu said the TULF were like "book-ends"...

(Columnist Kautilya — The Island — 11th August)

Tamil constable killed : Mum's the word

The mystery behind the brutal killing of a Tamil police constable in the barracks of the Tissamaharama Police Station still remains unsolved almost two months after the slaying took place. A senior Police official admitted that ... nobody seems to have seen the killer despite the fact that the gruesome killing had taken place in the Police barracks.

(The Island — 12th August)

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More Tamil refugees flee Trinco

The number of Tamil refugees crossing over from Trincomalee to Batticaloa are reported to be on the increase. According to a spokesman of the Batticaloa Kachcheri, over 8,000 displaced persons who had crossed over to Batticaloa a few months ago are still in refugee camps in Verugal as the situation in Trincomalee had reportedly aggravated...

(The Island — 16th August)

But Sinhala villagers in Vavuniya are looked after

Dry rations were rushed from Vavuniya yesterday to 750 Sinhala families now living in fear of their lives in Pavatkulam and Ilukulam — two Sinhala villages north of Vavuniya. This has been done on a directive by G.A., Vavuniya, Mr. K.C. Logeswaran to keep up the morale of the villagers... Earlier dry rations were rushed to about 850 families in Kokkuveliya, Pumaduwa, Abaranthulawa and Galpotha villages...

(The Island — 16th August)

Gun battle in Vavuniya

A raging gun battle between security forces and terrorists in Vavuniya since 4.30 a.m. yesterday had so far resulted in the death of 8 terrorists and several other unidentified people... The battle was sparked off after an army convoy returning from Jaffna discovered a wire which led to a bomb, about 400 yards from the Air Force runway...

(The Island — 17th August)

"The Island" feels shy to say they are Tamils

The funereal atmosphere here that hung over Vavuniya on Friday continued throughout yesterday... Among the bodies in the Vavuniya mortuary were those of ten children and a 6-months pregnant mother... Only 3 of the 21 bodies had been identified... Meanwhile, Sarvodaya leader A.T. Ariyaratne flew to Vavuniya to comfort Sarvodaya's Regional Representative Mr. Kathiramalainathan who lost his wife, father-in-law and mother-in-law in the shoot-out...

(The Island — 18th August)

J.R. says "No" to Federalism

President J.R. Jayawardene in an interview with "The Hindu" has said that the Federal system as it exists in India was not necessary for Sri Lanka. "You cannot have a Federal system here. Ours is a unitary constitution and we cannot change the constitution", he has said...

(The Island — 15th August)

Death fast after 18 months without trial

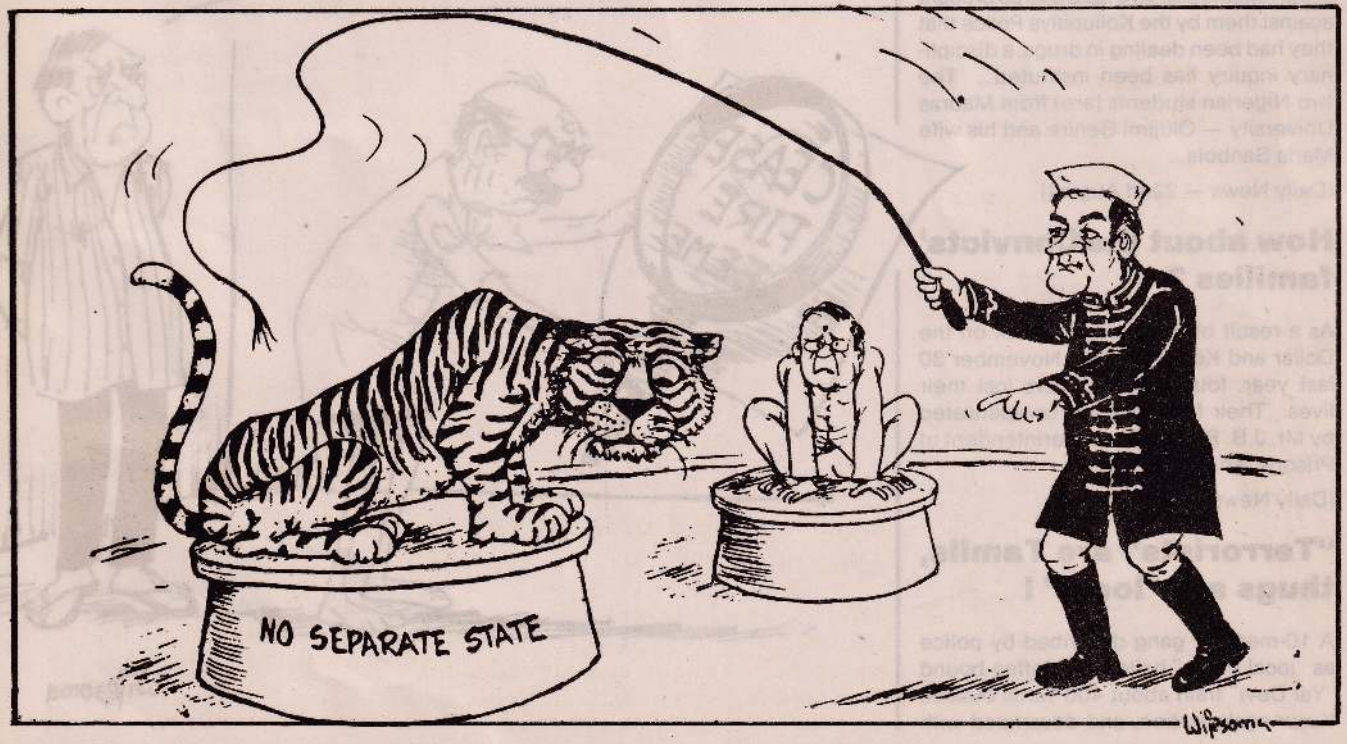
Five suspects under detention at Welikade under the Prevention of Terrorism Act began a hunger strike demanding that they be charged in court or released, instead of keeping them in jail indefinitely. One of them who grew very weak was rushed to the General Hospital and is now warded under strict security. Repeated requests to the rest of the 4 suspects to call off the fast failing, Prison officials yesterday were said to be forcing food and water on them. These five suspects along with 170 others had been remanded at the Welikade jail...

(The Island — 21st August)

"Panagoda Maheswaran's" visiting card ?

A tense situation is reported to be prevailing in the Medawachchiya area... Following the recovery of a bomb in one of the buses kidnapped by terrorists on Wednesday and later abandoned along a jungle road, security forces have intensified security in the entire Medawachchiya area. The bomb carried a tag identifying it with the Thampapillai Maheswaran (Panagoda) group, the Tamil Eelam army. The group is reported to have been very active in the remote Sinhala villages of Yakkawa and Siyambalagaswewa...

(The Island — 16th August)



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"Mass exodus of Sinhala families"

A mass exodus of Sinhala families is reported from 10 villages in the Anuradhapura district since Monday following posters which have come up in Seepukulam, 14 miles off Anuradhapura. The posters in Tamil have demanded that all Sinhala villagers leave the district immediately... In Horowopatana alone over 1,000 villagers have left their traditional homes and sought refuge in Anuradhapura...

(The Island — 14th August)

Prostitution and Tourism

Prostitution has eaten deep into the fabric of society in the tourist areas, states a recent in-depth study on "Tourism in Sri Lanka : The social impact" by Dr. Nandasena Ratnapala, Director, Sarvodaya Research Institute... There are instances where husbands personally compel their wives to take to prostitution. Fathers and mothers motivate or compel their daughters to ply the trade, the report adds ...

(Daily News — 17th August)

False charge — 12 months in Jail !

Following the acquittal of the Nigerian couple who spent a nightmare 12 months in the remand jails on a false charge brought against them by the Kollupitiya Police that they had been dealing in drugs, a disciplinary inquiry has been instituted... The two Nigerian students (are) from Madras University — Olujimi Benire and his wife Maria Sanbola...

(Daily News — 22nd August)

How about the Convicts' families ?

As a result of the terrorist attack on the Dollar and Kent Farms on November 30 last year, four prison officers lost their lives. Their families were compensated by Mr. J.B. Bulumulla, Superintendent of Prisons, Anuradhapura...

(Daily News — 23rd August)

"Terrorists" are Tamils, thugs are "local" !

A 10-member gang described by police as "local thugs" halted the Jaffna-bound "Yal Devi" train about 400 yards outside Kurunegala station, and decamped with the belongings and jewellery of eight passengers...

(Daily News — 24th August)

Victim of lamp-post killing

The body of Mr. K. Thambipillai who was elected to the Mullaitivu DDC on the TULF ticket was found lynched on a lamp post at Mullaitivu Thursday, police said. He had died of gunshot injuries...

(Daily News — 24th August)

26 "terrorists" killed says govt.

Soldiers and trainees from the army training school at Amparai inflicted heavy fatalities on a terrorist training camp at Thirukovil, on the district border between Amparai and Batticaloa, the National Security Ministry said. "The servicemen were on a 3-day jungle training exercise when they found the camp. They were fired at and were forced to take some military action in which 26 terrorists were killed", the spokesman said...

(Daily News — 26th August)

Tamil workers' line rooms set on fire

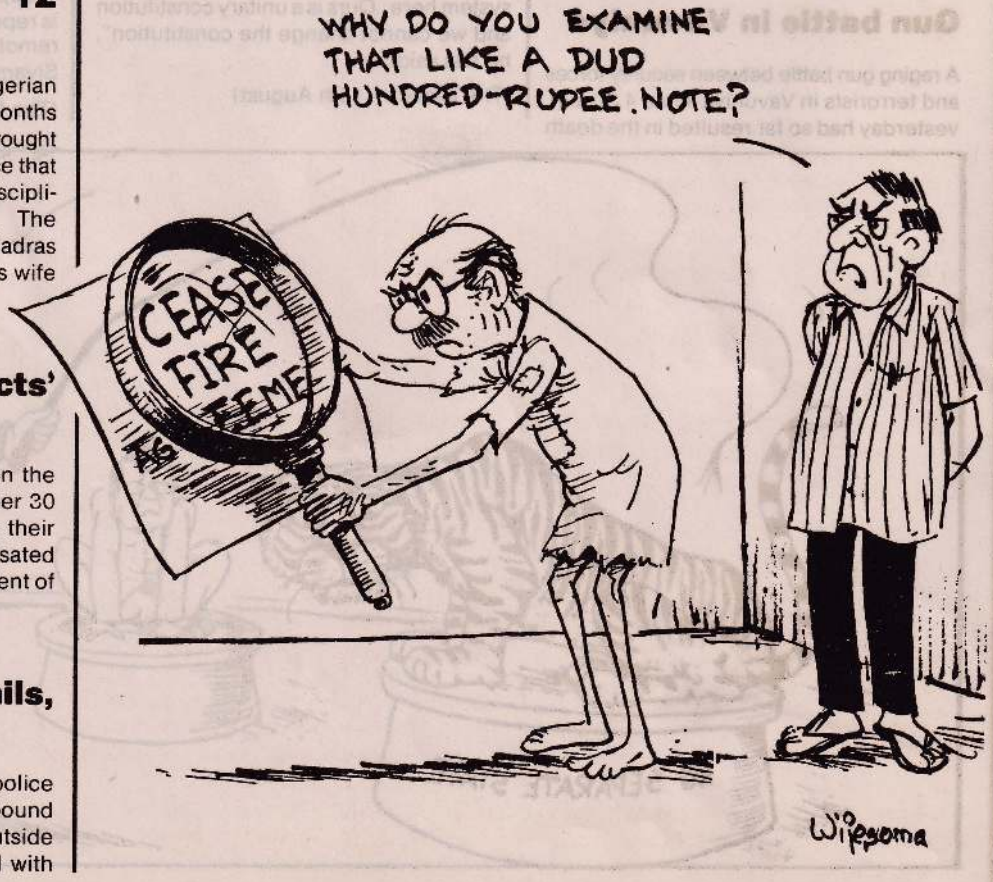
Galaha Police are conducting investigations into a case of alleged arson of 14 line rooms at Kirimetiya Estate in Patha Hewaheta ... Police have provided temporary shelter at the Galaha Hindu kovil for the homeless labourers...

(The Island — 23rd August)

Death sentence announced

Two prominent members of PLOTE's training camp have been sentenced to death by its High Command. Nadesu Yamako and Parasuraman were the victims of this death sentence. The PLOTE in handbills distributed among the public, had stated that the High Command pronounced the death sentence on these two after an inquiry into charges of the murder of Comrade Jeevakumar, illtreatment of other comrades in the camp and misuse of power...

(The Island — 24th August)



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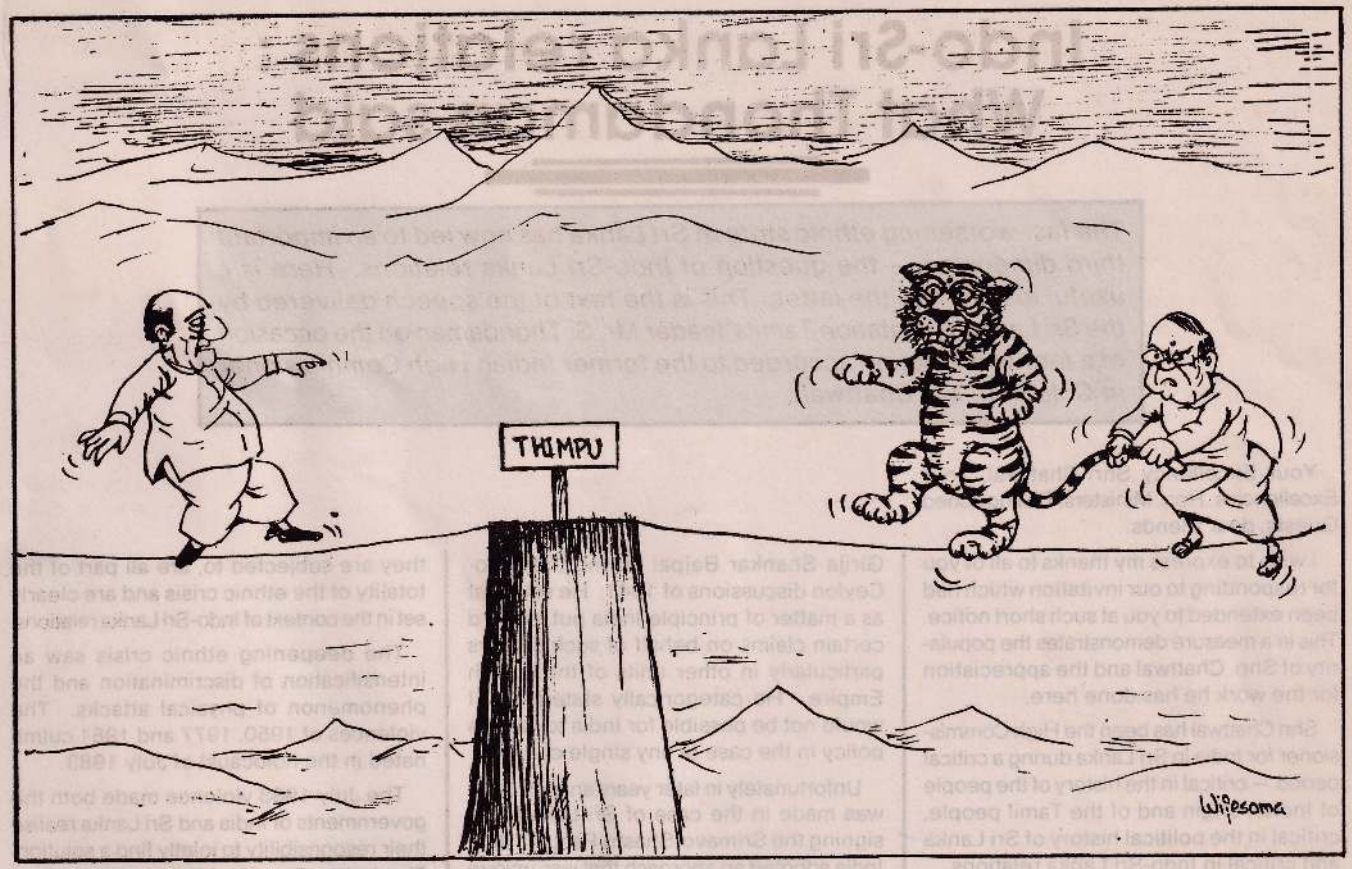

4 Army men killed, 1 injured

Four soldiers died and one was injured when the vehicle in which they were travelling ran over a land mine yesterday. The incident occured in the morning on the Dehiwatte-Kantalai road...

(The Island — 22nd August)

Home Guard's gun went off !

A Home Guard's gun is said to have gone off killing a woman refugee and injuring a soldier. The incident had taken place on Thursday at a temple in Vavuniya where refugees were accommodated.

(The Island — 24th August)

Sri Lanka weapons change hands

Several Police officers attached to the Kalkudha Police were injured when a landmine exploded yesterday morning. These officers, along with OIC Kalkudah were on their way from Valaichchenai to Kalkudah when the terrorists exploded the landmine. The terrorists are then said to have robbed 500 rounds of ammunition, a machine gun and a pistol, four helmets and radio equipment...

(The Island — 24th August)

"War and Peace" talk by President J

President J.R. Jayawardene said yesterday that the government was prepared for either "War or Peace". If the terrorists wanted war it will be war and if they wanted peace it will be peace, he said, speaking at the ceremonial commissioning of the Kotmale reservoir. The President regretted not having nipped the problem of terrorism in the bud... but felt that it was not the fault of just one government...

(The Island — 25th August)

Colombo "very happy" about deportations

Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwos yesterday expressed Colombo's satisfaction that India is cracking down on Lankan terrorist groups in that country. Reacting to the news that India had deported two Tamil separatist leaders, A.S. Balasingham and S.C. Chandrahasan, Dr. de Alwis said : "We are very happy that this has been done. Terrorism in Sri Lanka would have stopped long ago if this had been done sometime earlier"...

(Daily News — 26th August)

Trinco-Nilaveli road cut off

The road between Trincomalee and Nilaveli has been completely cut off since terrorists damaged Sampalthivu bridge, on the Trincomalee-Nilaveli road on Saturday morning. Police said the terrorists reportedly used five bombs to blast the bridge. "Only a push cycle can be taken across now", a police spokesman said...

(Daily News — 26th August)

20,000 refugees in Trinco

Around 20,000 people, both Sinhalese and Tamils — are now in refugee camps in the Trincomalee district. According to a government official in Trincomalee there are about 10,000 Tamils and an equal number of Sinhalese in the 32 camps that have been set up in the district...

(The Island — 22nd August)

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Indo-Sri Lanka relations : What Thondaman said

The fast-worsening ethnic strife in Sri Lanka has now led to an important third dimension — the question of Indo-Sri Lanka relations. Here is a useful insight into the latter. This is the text of the speech delivered by the Sri Lankan Plantation Tamils' leader Mr. S. Thondaman on the occasion of a farewell function accorded to the former Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. Chattwal :

Your Excellency Shri Chattwal, Your Excellencies, Hon. Ministers, Distinguished Guests, dear friends.

I wish to express my thanks to all of you for responding to our invitation which had been extended to you at such short notice. This in a measure demonstrates the popularity of Shri. Chattwal and the appreciation for the work he has done here.

Shri Chattwal has been the High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka during a critical period — critical in the history of the people of Indian origin and of the Tamil people, critical in the political history of Sri Lanka and critical in Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

The historical antiquity of Indo-Sri Lanka relations, the determining influence of the geo-political and geo-ethnic factors and the inextricable links that exist between India and Sri Lanka need no emphasis here. The dynamics of Indo-Sri Lanka relations has operated in various ways. The people of Indian origin have a deep seated feeling that the dynamics of Indo-Sri Lanka relations has sometimes operated to the detriment of their interests. Their interests had been sacrificed for the sake of what was at certain times conceived to be in the interests of Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

The Indian origin people are descendants of the 19th and early 20th century migrants who came from India to Sri Lanka in the wake of the phenomenal demand for labour created by the plantation system. The 19th century was a period of vast economic developments and saw an unprecedented growth in the modern system of production.

Indian migrants went to settle in countries such as Guyana, West India, South Africa, East Africa, Mauritius, Reunion Islands, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Fiji and other countries. The Indian Government had to formulate a clear policy about this group of people who settled in other countries. This policy is exemplified in a statement made by Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai during the Indo-Ceylon discussions of 1941. He said that as a matter of principle India put forward certain claims on behalf of such settlers particularly in other units of the British Empire. He categorically stated that it would not be possible for India to vary its policy in the case of any single country.

Unfortunately in later years an exception was made in the case of Sri Lanka. By signing the Srimavo-Shastri Pact in 1964, India adopted an approach that was unique in respect of its overseas settlers. Today the long established community of Indian origin Tamils in Sri Lanka has been torn asunder into two sections and are presently undergoing the trauma of this division. Every day the CWC Office is inundated with letters from repatriates explaining the serious difficulties undergone by them. The vast majority of repatriates — over 70,000 families composing about 400,000 people have not been properly settled. The CWC has sent a delegation to India to study the situation. We hope to take up matters with the government of India after the report from this delegation is received. The CWC is considering institutional arrangements in India to assist these people.

For the remaining section of the community in Sri Lanka who are divided into Sri Lankan citizens and "stateless", the situation is marked with uncertainty. Even those who have obtained Sri Lanka citizenship have to live with a sense of insecurity. The ever deepening ethnic crisis is further accentuating the situation.

The denial of their legitimate rights to the plantation Tamil people, the discrimination practiced against them, the lack of infra-structural arrangements to enable the utilisation of the benefit of government's programmes, the state of insecurity to which they are subjected to, are all part of the totality of the ethnic crisis and are clearly set in the context of Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

The deepening ethnic crisis saw an intensification of discrimination and the phenomenon of physical attacks. The violences of 1950, 1977 and 1981 culminated in the holocaust of July 1983.

The July 1983 violence made both the governments of India and Sri Lanka realise their responsibility to jointly find a solution. The Indian Foreign Minister came here and Sri Lanka sent a special envoy to India. I do not want to recount here the visits made by the special envoy of the Prime Minister of India, the visit by our President to India, the working out of formulas, the all Party Conference, and other developments.

What is of significance is the universal recognition that both India and Sri Lanka have to find a solution to the Sri Lankan problem.

Under these circumstances, some of the statements made by both sides are rather puzzling. The Indian government has described the situation in Sri Lanka as deplorable, brutal, barbaric and inhuman, and continues to say that they are in close contact with the government of Sri Lanka to find a solution. Concerned Sri Lanka authorities talk about this being a purely Sri Lankan affair, an internal problem and even claiming that there is no ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. In the meanwhile blood is flowing freely and destruction goes on unabated.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has spoken about there being light at the end of the tunnel. The tunnel seems to be never ending and increasingly becoming darker.

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We feel Your Excellency that there should be a new and radical approach, a sharp break from the past. All this continuous talk about violence is of little avail. The PLO which has used violence is their struggle has been given recognition by UN of which both India and Sri Lanka are Member States. Is there no way of adopting similar approaches in the Sri Lankan situation and quickly bringing to an end the vast human tragedy ?

I have spoken at length recounted various developments as Shri Chattwal is one who has become well acquainted with our problems here.

I well remember Shri M.S. Aney, the Special Envoy of the Government of India. He was a man of great stature and was capable of making great decisions. Seeing the extremely backward educational condition of the plantation workers Mr. M.S. Aney helped to found the Ceylon Estate Workers Education Trust. Many children of estate workers have benefitted from this trust. After Mr. Aney there were times when proposals were even made to wind up the trust. However, it continued. I am happy to record here that it was during Shri Chattwal's period that this trust received a new lease of life !

The number of scholars receiving support was substantially increased. Madame Chattwal in her own way helped to raise funds for the trust by doing a sale. We will always remember this gesture of yours Madame. Shri Chattwal has also been able to double the contribution from the Indian Government to this fund.

We greatly wish that you will be able to continue here. We are happy that you will go as the Indian High Commissioner for Canada. We wish you all success and hope that we will again be able to meet you in other capacities and intimately connected with our problems.

THANK YOU ■

The Right of Resistance under International Law

(From Violations of Human Rights — Possible rights of recourse and forms of resistance : UNESCO Publication 1984)

"... The concept of resistance against abusive exercise of political power has to be viewed against the background of democracy having gained worldwide acceptance. While it can be read in all traditional treatises that international law regulates only the relations between states and that it does not affect internal structures, democracy and monarchy here being totally equivalent, or in other words irrelevant, the growing and overshelming support for the principle of self-determination is a democratic concept. Since it signifies that people have the inalienable right to be masters of their own fate, it is based on the premise that the people are the only legitimate source of political power. A national community may well choose a monarch to rule its destinies or to serve as an institution representing national unity, but it does not thereby renounce its political authority. Consequently, except for cases of revolutionary usurpation of power, government is always held to operate as a trustee of the people. It supposedly expresses the will of the people and is deemed to constitute nothing but an agency through which the people exercise their political power.

"The difficulties which this democratic concept of the state entails for a theory of the right of resistance are all too obvious. Since the people themselves govern, resistance might be held to amount to self-resistance, an utterly absurd and even unthinkable idea. In socialist states, particular emphasis is placed on the conciliation between all the interests existing in a given society, which the coming into power of the working class allegedly brings about. Even constitutional texts do not shrink from stating that, because the proletariat has become the ruling class, any antagonistic tension between the government and the people has ceased.

"Although the intellectual vigour of the argument cannot be denied, it should not be overlooked that perfect unity between the rulers and the ruled is primarily a theoretical postulate. What makes this postulate a reality is the procedures through which people may freely express their will, through which a government can be made accountable and through which its actions can effectively be controlled. Failing such devices, government may easily develop into an oligarchic power-structure, which has little, if anything, to do with the true political aspirations of the people. Therefore, the mere fact that a state claims to be based on the democratic idea does not close the door definitively to exploring the possibility of a right of resistance ..."

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Colombo Set To Use Force

Neutralising India Key To Strategy

Times of India — Friday, August 30, 1985

By A.S. ABRAHAM

New Delhi's snafu over the deportation of two Tamil militant leaders (a third left the country before the order could be served on him), reinforces the gloom engulfing not merely the reconciliation talks at Thimpu between the guerillas and the Sri Lanka government, but also the overall situation in Sri Lanka where the ethnic conflict is fast taking on the dimensions of a full-scale civil war. Although New Delhi is trying hard to put the talks on an even keel, the chances of it succeeding are daily becoming more and more remote. If Thimpu is in danger of becoming little more than an innocuous sideshow to the unstanched bloodletting in Sri Lanka, for which the brutal rabble that passes for the Sri Lanka soldiery is mainly responsible, then that is because both antagonists, the guerillas as well as Colombo are busy preparing to settle the issue through the force of arms.

Again, however, the evidence, as provided by independent accounts by foreign correspondents and international humanitarian bodies like Amnesty International, suggests that Colombo is chiefly to blame. The June 18 ceasefire, which India helped to bring about, was violated by Sri Lanka soldiers when the ink on the agreement had scarcely dried, as our Colombo correspondent has reported (August 19). While the guerillas have responded in kind, their commitment to the search via Thimpu for a political solution envisaging autonomy but short of "Eelam" has been genuine.

Buying Time

Along with Tamil United Liberation Front Leaders, they have been seeking a measure of self-governance for the Tamil-dominated northern and eastern provinces and for, if not the merger of, then at least a structural link between, them. Initially, it is true, they set four principles as a framework for any settlement, and these appeared to emphasise Tamil political and cultural separateness. But apart from being generalised formulations, there was nothing in them that could not be reconciled with the degree of autonomy the Tamils could in practice be persuaded to settle for and which would have been wholly in line with Sri Lanka's unity.

Unfortunately — and this New Delhi either cannot or will not see — the Sri Lanka government has given every indication of being interested in palavering at Thimpu only in order to buy time while it readies itself for a military solution. Its strategy includes pressuring New Delhi to crack down on guerilla operations from bases in Tamil Nadu and to twist the militants' arms to induce them to climb down more and more in negotiations, trying to set the insurgents against New Delhi; putting India on the defensive by constantly raising the bogey of "intervention"; and counting on its western aid donors, who have been as enamoured of the post-1977 Jayewardene government and its pro-western policies as they were previously hostile to Mrs.Bandaranaike's anti-western setup, to deter India from succumbing to mounting domestic pressure from Tamil Nadu, buttressed by growing international humanitarian concern over the persecution of the minority Tamils, to intervene militarily and enforce a Cyprus-type solution.

Vital to this approach is the show of apparent reasonableness by publicly agreeing with New Delhi's view that a political solution is the only way out and by going on participating in the dialogue with Tamil representatives that New Delhi has arranged. In reality, however, the policy is to use the ceasefire (theoretically in force until September 18) to build up the Sri Lanka security forces and, even while spinning out the powwow at Thimpu endlessly without giving away anything of substance, to resume military operations against the guerillas when their own hands are tied because of their commitment to Thimpu and, more important, because they are subject to the control of New Delhi, which has needlessly put its prestige on the line in working for a settlement at Thimpu.

So it is that while Mr.Hector Jayewardene — Colombo has not seen fit to send to Thimpu anyone of greater political weight than a legal-constitutional expert, Albeit one who happens to be the Sri Lanka president's brother — regurgitates the same old proposals that were long ago found inadequate by the Tamil delegates, the Sri Lanka army gets to work on Tamil guerillas and civilians in Trincomalee, Vavuniya and elsewhere in an intensified offensive aimed at bringing the rebellion once and for all to heel.

Poorer Light

And when, incensed at Colombo's duplicity and at the butchery of hundreds of fellow-Tamils, the Tamil representatives storm out of Thimpu, New Delhi rounds, not on those who are in fact sabotaging the talks while going through the motions of taking part of them, but on those who have shown a genuine willingness to look for a political solution at New Delhi's bidding. What puts New Delhi in an even poorer light is that its irritation at the sudden rupture of the Thimpu deliberations makes it so edgy as to construe the return to Madras of the guerilla delegates, instead of going directly to New Delhi for discussions at the Prime Minister's invitation, as defiance of the Indian government, thereby warranting some deportations as exemplary punishment. Its belated revocation of its expulsion of one of the militant leaders, Mr.Chandrahasan, after he had journeyed to the U.S. and back and after he had been detained in Bombay for over 24 hours only underwrites its initial blunder. Should it revoke the marching orders of the other two leaders as well (as it properly should), its clumsiness would be fully exposed.

Such erratic behaviour is not only unbecoming of a mature government running a major country, it is also downright bad policy. It plays straight into Colombo's hands, confirming in its eyes the wisdom of its strategy of pitting the guerillas against New Delhi and of getting the latter to pressure the militants into making more and more concessions. It ensures that Colombo will have even less reason to take Thimpu seriously — except as a forum of procrastination while it prepares for a military solution. It diverts attention, to Colombo's relief and delight, from the ►

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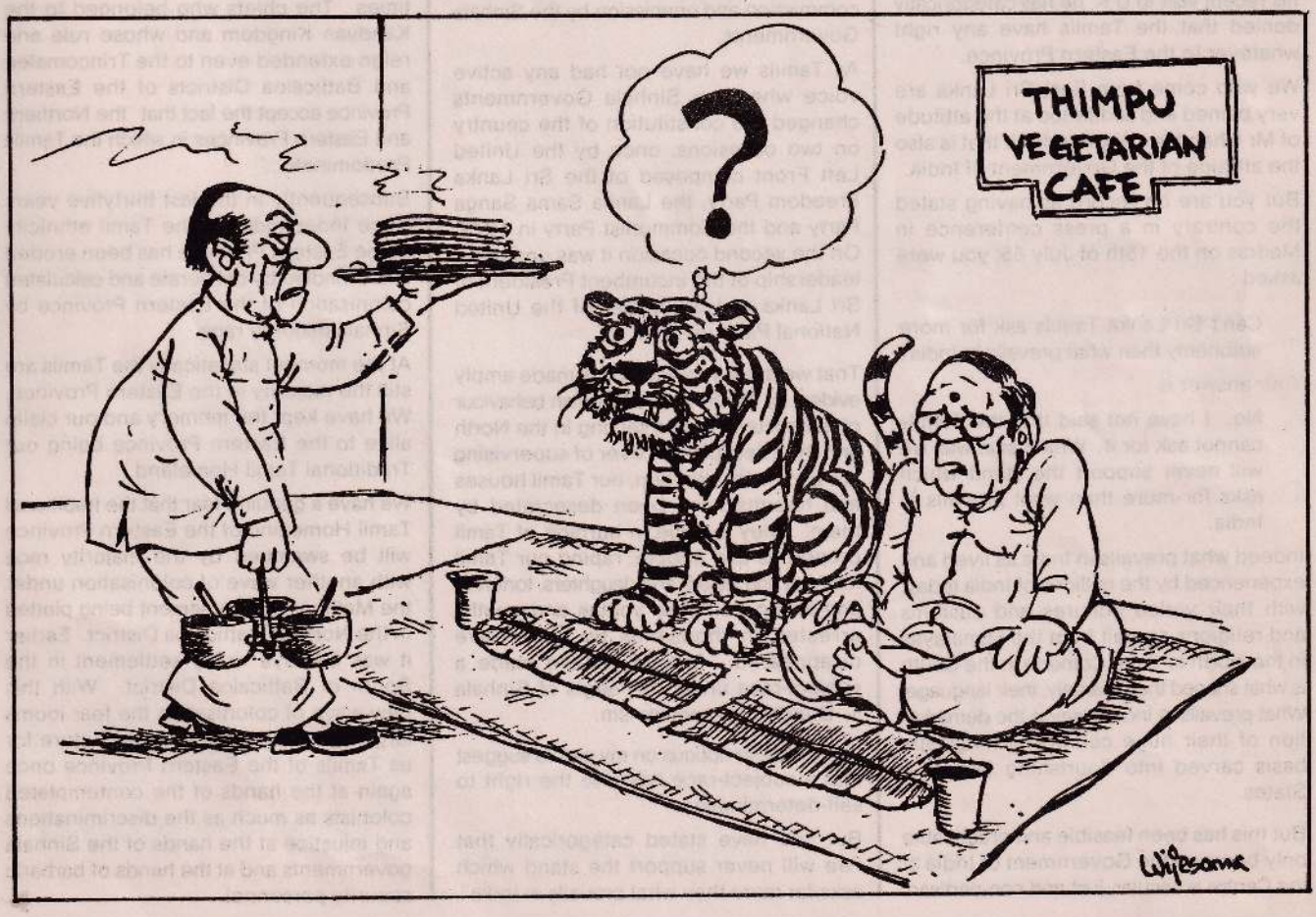
excesses of its soldiers in northern and eastern Sri Lanka. Above all, it infuriates 50 million Tamils in Tamil Nadu who are helpless with rage as reports come in of the brutalities against their fellow-Tamils across the Palk Strait and who, expecting that New Delhi will use its clout to stay Colombo's hand, find instead that it is turning the screws on those who represent the victims.

Arming Soldiers

Paradoxically, while this unfortunate turn of events serves Colombo's purpose for now, it may jeopardise its interests later. For if the reaction in Tamil Nadu to New Delhi's harsh and capricious handling of the guerilla leaders snowballs into an avalanche of popular protest — with schools and colleges closed indefinitely, and with "rail rokos" and public rallies planned throughout the state, it could easily do so —, New Delhi will no longer be able to ignore this sentiment in the cavalier way it has done and will have no option but to assuage it by taking, privately as much as publicly, a much tougher line with Colombo.

It is imperative that New Delhi be hard-headed. The Sri Lanka government has never taken Thimpu seriously. What it has set about doing feverishly is arming its soldiers. The "Financial Times" (London), in an editorial on August 22, says that "... the western aid group, which has watched with alarm as government arms purchases over the past six months have increased sevenfold, has, in effect, given president Jayewardene an ultimatum : 'Reach a political solution or aid will eventually dry up,." Whether such pressure comes to be applied is not the point. What is relevant is that even Colombo's western benefactors are getting alarmed at the armament it is piling up. Further evidence of its militaristic intent comes from reports that it is refurbishing air-fields long fallen into disuse, and from the Sri Lanka national security minister, Mr.Lalith Athulathmudali's exhortation to India to crack down further on Tamil guerrilla bases and training camps in Tamil Nadu — if the insurrection "were confined to Sri Lanka, we could deal with them" — while defending the butchery perpetrated by Sri Lanka soldiers — "I give a lot of leeway to things done in the beat of the moment".

It is often said that the Sri Lanka government cannot act decisively because it is split between rival caucuses. Even if president Jayewardene wants a political solution, he is powerless to get one. Hard-liners in the government will not let him have his way. Nor will the Buddhist clergy, no less hardline. Nor will Mrs. Bhandaranaike, now allied with the clerics, and with them demanding that any settlement arrived at be approved in a national referendum or a general election. By deliberately trying to reduce president Jayewardene's room for manocuvre, she is seeking to discomfit him and eventually to bring him down to avenge his stripping her of her civic rights. Internal political rivalry is the name of the game in Sri Lanka, not finding a just and humane solution to the ethnic conflict. These difficulties, however, only make it plainer than ever that Colombo has no stake in Thimpu. It is trying to impose a military solution which it knows cannot be accomplished without neutralising India through seeming acquiescence in New Delhi's wishes. It is time New Delhi started to see Colombo's motives for what they really are. ■



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Eastern Province Tamils Protest

Several Eastern Province Tamils have sent protests to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi over certain reported remarks made by Foreign Secretary Bhandari in a meeting he had with Tamils in UK. The following letter addressed by Fr. J. Joseph Mary SJ of Fernandale Road, Clapham High St. London is one of them. Fr. Mary had also made some relevant annexures which are published.

5 August 1985

The Honourable Prime Minister of India
New Delhi
India

Honourable Prime Minister

We are reliably informed that in an informal meeting certain prominent Sri Lanka Tamils held with Mr Romesh Bhandari during his recent visit to U.K. he has categorically denied that the Tamils have any right whatever to the Eastern Province.

We who come from East Sri Lanka are very pained and saddened at the attitude of Mr Bhandari. We wonder if that is also the attitude of the Government of India.

But you are on record as having stated the contrary in a press conference in Madras on the 15th of July 85; you were asked :

> Can't Sri Lanka Tamils ask for more autonomy than what prevails in India?

Your answer is :

> No. I have not said that the Tamils cannot ask for it. What I said was we will never support the stand which asks for more than what prevails in India.

Indeed what prevails in India as lived and experienced by the millions of India today, with their varied cultures and customs and religions as well from the Himalayas in the North to Cape Comorin in the South is what shaped them namely, their language. What prevails in India today is the demarkation of their huge country on linguistic basis carved into flourishing linguistic States.

But this has been feasible and practicable only because the Government of India at the Centre is secular, just and non-partisan.

Unfortunately the theory and practice of the Governments of Sri Lanka at the Centre has been quite the opposite. For the last thirtyfive years since Independence, the successive Sinhala Governments have been thinking and behaving with one nation — one language — one religion theory of Sinhala Buddhist Sri Lanka only.

Further, we Tamils have been relegated to a second class citizenry and made to feel a subject-race by the various acts of commission and ommission by the Sinhala Governments.

As Tamils we have not had any active voice when the Sinhala Governments changed the constitution of the country on two occasions, once by the United Left Front composed of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Lanka Sama Sanga Party and the Communist Party in 1972. On the second occasion it was under the leadership of the incumbent President of Sri Lanka and the leader of the United National Party in 1978.

That we are a subject race is made amply evident by the brutal and inhuman behaviour of the security forces serving in the North and the East. Under cover of supervising law and order situation, our Tamil houses and hearths have been desecrated by them. They indulge in burning of Tamil properties and people, raping our Tamil mothers and sisters and daughters, torturing and killing our male youths and youths arrested in thousands by them have disappeared. Indeed we are made a subject-race under the aegis of Sinhala — Buddhist expansionism.

It is not presumptious on my part to suggest that a subject-race has also the right to self-determination.

But you have stated categorically that "we will never support the stand which asks for more than what prevails in India".

We, the Sri Lanka Tamils of the Eastern Province ask just that basic that the traditional Tamil speaking Eastern Province which we consider our traditional Tamil Homeland be proposed, discussed and accepted as forming one single linguistic unit together with the traditional Tamil Homeland of the North.

The Eastern Province of Sri Lanka has always been a traditional Tamil Homeland of Sri Lanka Tamils from very ancient times. The chiefs who belonged to the Kandyan Kingdom and whose rule and reign extended even to the Trincomalee and Batticaloa Districts of the Eastern Province accept the fact that "the Northern and Eastern Provinces in which the Tamils Predominate..."

Subsequently in the last thirtyfive years since Independence the Tamil ethnicity of the Eastern Province has been eroded and dwindled by deliberate and calculated colonisation of the Eastern Province by Sinhala majority race.

At the moment statistically the Tamils are still the majority in the Eastern Province. We have kept the memory and our claim alive to the Eastern Province being our Traditional Tamil Homeland.

We have a genuine fear that the traditional Tamil Homeland of the Eastern Province will be swamped by the majority race with another wave of colonisation under the Mathuru Oya settlement being plotted in the North of Batticaloa District. Earlier it was Gal-Oya valley settlement in the South of Batticaloa District. With this new wave of colonisation the fear looms large in our minds of what is in store for us Tamils of the Eastern Province once again at the hands of the contemplated colonists as much as the discriminations and injustice at the hands of the Sinhala governments and at the hands of barbaric security personnel. ▶

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For the reasons stated above we who have our origin in the Trincomalee, Batticaloa and the Amparai Districts of the Eastern Province request that the Eastern Province, our Traditional Tamil Homeland be proposed, discussed and accepted as forming one single unit together with the traditional Tamil Homeland of the Northern Province.

This is the viable answer falling short of Thamil Eelam. This is what we see prevailing in India too, a vast country with differing language groups, culture and customs, ably administered and governed on linguistic groupings into various States.

This basic minimum is our demand that the Indian Government address their mind to the Historic Fact that Eastern Province and Northern Province form one single unit of the Traditional Tamil Homeland of the Sri Lanka Tamils.

Thanking you

Yours truly

TAMIL HOMELANDS AND EASTERN PROVINCE

From about the 13th Century, a major demographic movement took place in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese drifted towards the Southern, Western and Central regions and the Tamils to the Northern and Eastern coastal belts. The situation has been virtually frozen in this fashion for 700 years. The Portuguese who ruled most of Sri Lanka since 1606 treated the North and the East as a territory different from the rest of the island. Similarly the Dutch from 1658 to 1796 identified the North and the East as a separate territory. The British too administered from 1796 to 1833 the North and the East separately. Even though the British joined the two sections of the Island for administrative purposes in 1933, the two provinces in North and East were considered as Tamil provinces.

The earliest available census (1827) shows that there were only 0.35% of Sinhalese in the North and 0.51% of Sinhalese in the East. Even in 1921 the position had not changed substantially. During the war time there was a movement of the population for employment in the Trincomalee district and the percentage of Sinhalese rose to 4.4%. However, due to deliberate state aided colonization (opposed by the Tamils) since independence aimed at disturbing the ethnic composition the Sinhalese population has in 1981 (last census) increased to 24.9% in the Eastern province. (See table).

Despite these changes both the Governments of the ruling party (in 1965) and the opposition (1957) recognised the Tamil dominance in the North and East in the pacts entered into to resolve the ethnic conflict. There is now an effort made by the Sri Lanka Government to deny the right of the Tamil people to their homelands in particular in the Eastern province. A study of the tables gives you a different story. Can a Government carry out deliberate colonization and then deny the people their right to homelands ?

The conditions placed by the Tamils at the present talks in Thimpu are :

Recognition of Tamils as a Nation, recognition that the Tamils have a territory of their own, recognition that the Tamils have a righ of self-determination and recognition of all persons at the time of Independence and their descendents as citizens of Sri Lanka.

It is expected that the question of Government sponsored colonisation will be taken up and the Tamils are expected to insist on dismantling the Government sponsored colonization as a condition of settlement. It should be noted that most of the violence is perpetrated by the Government sponsored colonists. The Sri Lankan Government is now arming them under the pretext of appointing home guards.

NORTHERN PROVINCE – POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUPS

YEAR	ALL RACES	SINHALESE	%	TAMILS	%	MOORS	%
1921	374829	3795	1.0	356801	95.2	13095	3.4
1946	479572	9602	2.0	449958	93.8	18183	3.8
1953	570650	14222	2.4	531399	93.1	23233	4.0
1963	741910	20270	2.7	689470	92.9	30760	4.1
1971	874629	25847	2.9	809100	92.5	38565	4.4
1981	1111468	33149	3.0	1023228	92.1	52638	4.7

EASTERN PROVINCE – POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUPS

YEAR	ALL RACES	SINHALESE	%	TAMILS	%	MOORS	%
1921	192821	8744	4.5	103251	53.5	75992	39.4
1946	279112	23456	8.4	146059	52.3	109024	39.1
1953	354410	46470	13.1	167898	47.3	135322	38.1
1963	546130	109690	20.1	246120	45.1	185750	34.0
1971	717571	148572	20.7	315560	43.9	248567	34.6
1981	976475	243358	24.9	409451	41.9	315201	32.2

NORTHERN AND EASTERN PROVINCES – POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUPS

YEAR	ALL RACES	SINHALESE	%	TAMILS	%	MOORS	%
1921	567650	12539	2.2	460052	81.0	89087	15.7
1946	758684	33058	4.4	596017	78.6	127207	16.8
1953	925060	60692	6.6	699297	75.6	158555	17.1
1963	1288040	129960	10.1	935590	72.6	216510	16.8
1971	1592200	174419	11.0	1124660	70.6	287132	18.0
1981	2087943	276507	13.2	1432679	68.6	367839	17.6

ALL MOORS ARE TAMIL-SPEAKING SOURCE : DEPARTMENT OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS, SRI LANKA

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What U.S. Senator wrote to President Jayawardene

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

May 29, 1985

Honorable J.R. Jayewardene
President
Sri Lanka
Colombo, Sri Lanka

Dear Mr. President :

As a supporter of the efforts of the people of Sri Lanka to build a democratic society, I am deeply disturbed by the escalation in the level of violence between Sinhalese and Tamils over the past few months.

There is a large community of Sri Lankans in my state of Massachusetts, and they have expressed their anguish and anger to me in the hope that the United States Senate would support efforts to reduce the violence in your country.

Several of my colleagues in the Senate have previously expressed their concerns over the negative effects of Sri Lanka government policies as they impact upon the welfare of the Tamil minority in your country. This concern has been heightened by the latest round of violence and your recent call for the creation of martial-law courts and the right to arm local communities. Therefore, it is even more important in light of the new outbreaks that the government do everything it can to seek peaceful solutions to the problems in your country and to prevent widespread communal violence from occurring.

There are several major areas of concern to me. First, the impact of government military activities on civilians, especially in Tamil areas, can only contribute to a worsening of the situation in your country. Over-reactions by the military forces and reprisals against civilians for guerrilla attacks on the military can only contribute to a further polarization of the situation. The rights of all civilians must be secured against arbitrary arrests and detention without trial.

Second, the choking of the economy in many Tamil areas stemming from the imposition and curfews and light military controls can only contribute to a worsening of the economic and political inequities already felt by the Tamils. Fishermen have been prevented from pursuing their livelihood, and the military have blocked or delayed food shipments from the south to areas in the north of your country which are dependent upon such shipments.

Third, I am concerned over the inequities in the distribution of U.S. economic aid within your country. I have been advised that despite large contributions of aid to Sri Lanka, little or none of that aid is going into Tamil areas. As a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which has a responsibility for overseeing the expenditure of U.S. aid funds, I would find such discrimination, if it is occurring, to be unacceptable which would warrant a major re-evaluation of our government's program in your country.

I am a strong believer that Sri Lanka Should remain one, indivisible country. However, after studying the history of your nation, I believe that some way must be found to grant the Tamils more autonomy within a unified Sri Lanka. By refusing to negotiate on this point now, I am afraid that the government only strengthens the positions of the separatists.

I recognise there are regional aspects to this conflict as well, and that India could play a role in facilitating a satisfactory political solution. I hope that your respective governments can negotiate to preserve the integrity of Sri Lanka and reduce the sources of conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils.

Also, I am aware there are those who counsel that a tougher policy is the only solution. However, such a course seems more likely to lead to an endless cycle of suffering — a cycle that can only threaten the democratic traditions which have so distinguished Sri Lanka since you gained your independence.

I hope that you will give consideration to the concerns I have raised and that you will seek a peaceful, political, negotiated solution to the issue which divide the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

Sincerely,

John Kerry

Tamil refugees in Switzerland

Faced with the flood of requests for asylum in Switzerland, the authorities are planning a change in the law on asylum. In this context, Therese Obrecht, a journalist of that country interviewed Elisabeth Kopp, Swiss Federal Councillor and Head of the Federal Department of Justice and Police.

Among the questions asked, was one that specifically concerned Sri Lankan Tamil refugees, and here is the answer :

Question : Why did the arrival of about 2,000 Tamils from Sri Lanka upset public opinion so much, whereas the waves of Hungarian and Czech refugees were absorbed without great difficulty ?

E.Kopp : This is probably because the Czechs and the Hungarians were European refugees and so that Swiss population was better able to understand the reasons why they came here. With the arrival of the Tamils from Sri Lanka, Switzerland was faced with a problem of minorities, this time originating in the Third World. Lack of awareness of this problem is one of the reasons which provoked hostile reactions from part of the population.

(By courtesy : REFUGEES, UNHCR publication — August 1985).

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Appeal in Canada for SRI LANKA NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND

"IMMINENT invasion" from Southern India !

P.O.Box 783
Station 'T'
Calgary. T2H 2H3

Dear Friend,

As you are well aware from recent news reports, the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka is being threatened by an imminent invasion from Southern India organized by terrorist groups. We strongly believe that Sri Lankan problems can and will be solved internally in a just and fair manner and that South Indian adn other foriegn interference in Sri Lanka should not be tolerated. It is imperative for ALL SRI LANKANS TO UNITE at this point and to fight for the very existence of our country as we have done in the past.

A National Defence Fund has been established by the Government of channel donations towards the defence of Sri Lanka. The Fund will be used to fortify the national defences and to guard the sea lanes between Sri Lanka and Southern India. It is imperative to guard the sea lanes in order to prevent landless South Indians from illegally emigrating to Sri Lanka and occupying the land of our Northern and Eastern people, and also to prevent South Indian based terrorist groups from attacking Sri Lanka. These groups are terrorizing the people in the Northern and Eastern areas of Sri Lanka looting homes, businesses and killing innocent civilians who dare to oppose them.

Further, civilians are being forced to contribute money to the terrorists upon pain of death. It is clear that it has been a South Indian plan over several decades to infiltrate Sri Lanka with illegal immigrants and to create mayhem in the North and East to help trigger a full scale invasion.

It is regretful that a few misguided Sri Lankans of all races have let themselves be manipulated by the South Indians' insidious plan to dominate Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka, ultimately reducing it to a colony of some foriegn power. The treatment meted out by the terrorists towards civilians who oppose them is a sure sign of the way they will treat the people under their domination.

We are requesting all Sri Lankans in Calgary and Southern Alberta to help the National Defence Fund by :

(1) contributing an initial amount, and
(2) agreeng to make a small monthly contribution over a six month period.

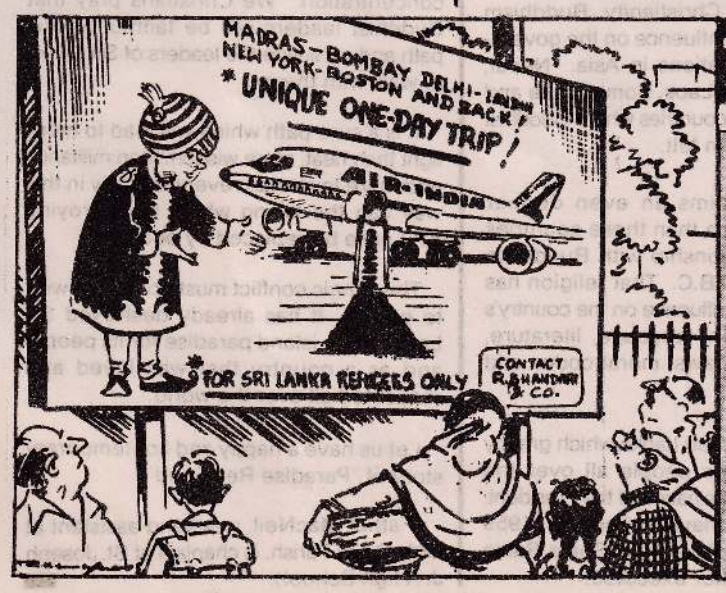
All funds contributed will be donated to the National Defence Fund.

We understand that some Sri Lankans are subjected to threats of loss of business, etc., unless contributions are made to the terrorist cause. Our appeal, to the contrary, is a fair and open one and we respect your right to make up your own mind in this connection. Your annonymity whether a contribution is made or not is totally assured. It is heartening to note that similar efforts to contribute towards the Defence Fund are being made in many other cities in Canada and the USA.

If you wish to make a monthly contribution, please forward six postdated cheques drawn in favour of "Sri Lanka National Defence Fund" to the above mentioned address. Initial one time contributions should be made by cheque, made out in the same manner.

The proposed scheme will be reviewed after six months. A financial statement showing the total amount donated and remitted will be provided at that time.

Yours sincerely,



The Deportation Drama

August 23 : Deportation orders issued on A.S.Balasingham, S.C. Chandrahasan and N. Satyendra. N. Satyendra leaves for London before order was served.

August 24 : A.S. Balasingham sent to London and S.C. Chandrahasan to New York.

August 28 : Chandrahasan back in Bombay.

August 29 : Chandrahasan back in Madras.

October 9 : A.S. Balasingham arrives in New Delhi.

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Buddhism has light to dispel Sri Lanka's darkness

says Canadian Christian Priest

Rev. R.G. MacNeil

This article appeared in the CITIZEN of 20th July 1985. THE CITIZEN is the only English daily published from Ottawa, the national capital of Canada.

Every civilized person in the world is repelled and horrified by the wanton bloodshed in Sri Lanka. It has been escalated by a rampaging army, operating with the declared intention of repressing separatism among the Tamil minority.

In retaliation, an illegal organization called the Tamil tigers has struck out against the military. Atrocity follows atrocity on both sides and there seems to be no possible end to the killing.

The Sri Lankan government has asked for the help of India to mediate the conflict. Something must be done. Canada also has good credibility in Sri Lanka because of extensive aid for development given over the period since 1948 when Sri Lanka became independent from Great Britain. A mediation role for Canada may also be helpful. By whatever means — something has to be done to achieve a state of reconciliation in Sri Lanka.

Some commentators have over simplified the horrible situation by saying it is just another conflict between the Buddhists who form 65 to 70 per cent of the population and the minority Hindus who are predominently Tamil. Among the Tamils there is a Christian minority who have suffered greatly, even though they are not numerous enough to be protagonists in the conflict.

Even here in Canada, people are appalled that a secretary with 10 years of capable and faithful service at the Sri Lankan High Commission has been fired simply because she is a Tamil. The firing was affirmed by the home government despite a recommendation to the contrary by the High Commissioner.

As Christian people looking at the Buddhist beliefs of the majority of Sri Lankans, we want to see some hope for peace in that country coming from the influence of this ancient religion. It is not an arbitrary exaggeration to state that as a religion founded on the four-fold values of compassion, freedom, kindness and truth, Buddhism has the key to unlock this dark chamber of violence and shed light on the minds and hearts of reasonable people in Sri Lanka.

Like medieval Christianity, Buddhism to this day has an influence on the governments of many nations in Asia. Nepal, Bhutan, Thailand, Laos, Compuchea and Vietnam are a few countries where Buddhist influence has been felt.

Sri Lankan claims an even deeper Buddhist presence than these countries as its living relationship with Buddhism goes back to 300 B.C. That religion has had an enormous influence on the country's culture, civilization, language, literature, art, architecture, laws, moral codes and calendar.

A sad episode in Sri Lanka which greatly disturbed religious people all over the world was the assassination of the President, Solomon Bandaranayake, Sept. 18, 1959 by the chief Buddhist monk Soma Rama Thero. He was later executed.

This unfortunate man departed drastically from the "non violence teaching which was the brain child of Lord Buddha. Buddhists who resort to violence betray their religion and are equally misguided today.

Buddhist monks and priests should let the government of Sri Lanka know that the solution to human problems does not rest on the barrel of an automatic weapon but in the "Tripitka" or Buddhist scriptures.

The eight-fold path which Lord Buddha left for his followers is comprised of right knowledge, right aspiration, right speech, right action, right mode of living, right endeavour, right mindfulness and right concentration. We Christians pray that Buddhist leaders will be faithful to this path and persuade the leaders of Sri Lanka to walk with them.

It is a sure path which will lead to more light than heat, more wisdom than militancy and more love than revenge. Only in this way can the killing which is destroying Sri Lanka be replaced by peace.

This ethnic conflict must not be allowed to go on. It has already destroyed Sri Lanka as an island paradise for its people and as a country that was loved and respected all over the world.

Let us have a happy and contemporary story of "Paradise Regained".

(Father MacNeil, weekend assistant at Holy Cross Parish, is chaplain at St. Joseph Jr. High School).

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ஈழத் தமிழர் கழகம்

EELAM TAMIL ASSOCIATION (Australasia)

P.O. Box 215, Enfield, NSW 2136 Australia. Telex No: AA21822

Members of the Eelam Tamil Association assembled at the Burwood Primary School hall on 25 August 1985, *RESOLVE THAT*

Whereas we the Tamils of Australia hereby record our appreciation of the tremendous support extended by the late Mrs Indira Gandhi and her successor Rajiv Gandhi and indeed by the whole of the Indian People to the Tamil community at moments of crisis in the past.

Whereas we are greatly perturbed by current developments in India in that Tamil leaders who are at the forefront of our struggle and who have the unstinted support respect and faith of the Tamil People and in particular the unswerving support of the expatriate Tamil community world wide have been deported from India. We are shocked that they have been deported at a moment of time when in view of the recent massacre of Tamil civilians by the Sri Lankan security forces, India like the rest of the International community should be exerting pressure on the Sri Lankan Government to recognise and meet the legitimate expectations of the Tamil Nation in Sri Lanka.

Whereas we urge the Indian Government to consider the cultural and emotional links of the international Sri Lankan Tamil community with the People of India and realise the urgent necessity to recognise their legitimate expectations as to the future of the Tamil Nation in Sri Lanka *and in particular to recognise those leaders who alone can ultimately agree on behalf of the Tamil People to any settlement to be reached.*

Whereas we the Tamils of Australia urge the Indian Government to revoke the deportation orders as *Messrs Balasingham, Chandrahasan and Satyendra whom the international Tamil community aknowledges as representing the true voice of the Tamil People.*

Resolution signed by members of ETA and taken by a special delegation to the Indian High Commissioner in Canberra with copy despatched to New Delhi.

Telegram sent to Chief Ministers of the South

WHEN INDIA CAME FORWARD TO ARRANGE FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TAMIL AND SINHALESE NATIONS IN SRI LANKA THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT PICKED A MOST SKILLFUL AND EMINENT DIPLOMAT, A LONG STANDING AND TRUSTED FRIEND OF THE NEHRU FAMILY MR. G. PARTHASARATHY AS MEDIATOR. MR. PARTHSARATHY WAS A VETERAN OF MANY AN INDIAN NEGOTIATING TEAM WHICH HAD SORTED OUT THORNY ISSUES INVOLVING THE VERY SECURITY AND REGIONAL INTERESTS OF INDIA. HOWEVER THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT CAST ASPERSIONS ON THE INTEGRITY OF THIS EMINENT MAN AND ON THE 50 MILLION TAMILS OF INDIA BY REFUSING TO ACCEPT MR. PARTHASARATHY AS THE NEGOTIATOR ON THE ONLY BASIS THAT HE WAS A TAMIL. THE MAN WHO REPLACED HIM AT THE THIMPHY TALKS, MR. BANDARI, IT WOULD SEEM WAS TRYING TO FORCE THE TAMIL DELEGATES TO ACCEPT THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS WHICH ARE NOT ONLY A COMPLETE SELLOUT OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE BUT WOULD EVENTUALLY PROVE TO BE AGAINST THE LONG TERM INTERESTS OF INDIA. IT IS NOW CLEAR MR. BANDARI IS NO MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE TAMILS AS A MEDIATOR. IT IS FURTHER CLEAR THAT HE IS TRYING TO KEEP THE INTELLECTUAL ELEMENT FROM THE TAMIL NEGOTIATING TEAM BY EXPELLING MESSRS BALASINGHAM, CHANDRAHASAN AND SATYENDRA. THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA WILL NOT ATTEND ANY MORE NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT THOSE 3 INDIVIDUALS. THE SOUTH OF INDIA HAS MADE TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE UNITY INTEGRITY AND CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. THE SOUTH MUST STAND TOGETHER TO BRING THE TRUTH TO THE WHOLE OF INDIA SO THAT INDIA WILL PLEDGE ITS WHOLE MIGHT TO THE DEFENCE AND FREEDOM OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE. PLEASE STAND UNITED WITH THE TAMILS AND URGE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO DESIST FROM A SELLOUT OF THE TAMILS. THE UNITY AND FREEDOM OF INDIA MAY VERY WELL DEPEND ON THE EVENTUAL RESOLUTION OF THE TAMIL CRISIS.

Copy of telegra sent to all Chief Ministers of the Southern States of India, and also to selected Tamil Leaders and Organisations.

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Lanka Guardian August 1

Rajiv's Camp David ? Sri Lankan journalist asks

Mervyn de Silva

After the next round of talks in Thimpu (Aug. 12) we may be in a better position to know whether President JR can pull off a Rajiv-like Punjab with Rajiv's help. With no trace of conscious irony Premier Gandhi chose his Minister of State for External Affairs and our own Deputy Foreign Minister Tyrone Fernando's "big bully" of late April, Mr. Khursheed Alam Khan, to transmit that message to Colombo just 24 hours after he had signed a treaty with top Sikh leader, Harchand Singh Longowal.

The 'Tigers' were frog-marched to Thimpu reported *INDIA TODAY's* Madras correspondent S. Venkatramani. The pressure on the "boys" in Madras has been so heavy that every report on the mood in the camp of the expatriate Tamil militants suggests disappointment, despondency and anger. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi must have known of this mood when he addressed a massive meeting in Madras. The mainstream press in the Tamilnadu capital recorded another personal triumph for the Indian leader but some Tamil sources took note of a boisterous section in the crowd that at some points turned rude and noisy.

The point is that Mr. Gandhi cannot "solve" Punjab and then go on to convert a traditionally orderly southern state into next year's Punjab. Tamilnadu, as we all know, was the first serious separatist threat to the Indian Centre from the south. Regional nationalism was appeased and then co-opted by Mr. Nehru's skillful decision on language, a process greatly assisted by the nationalism which transcended the regionalism when India went to war with China.

Tamilnadu opinion on the Sri Lankan Tamil issue tends to be ambivalent. It identifies itself closely and quite warmly with the plight of fellow Tamils in the nearby island but it does not take too kindly to the presence of an estimated 100,000 refugees and less so to the activities of heavily armed Sri Lankan Tamil youths roaming freely in the capital and its outskirts. As one Madrasi academic put it "The quarrel between the DMK and AIDMK has always been bitter as is usually the case between a parent body and a hostile faction which becomes a powerful and independent challenger, in this case successfully... but these fights, whenever they became physical and moved into the streets, particularly during election battles, rarely went beyond cycle-chains and sticks and stones. Never guns. The Jaffna 'boys' have introduced guns and that really worries both the Tamilnadu Establishment and the Centre in Delhi."

The problem is and will become increasingly acute on account of an unpredictable factor which is the key to any future power equation — the state of health of Mr. M.G. Ramachandran. MGR, a charismatic figure who holds political power in his palm, could die at any time. The most optimistic medical reading is 1 to 2 years. Mr. Gandhi knows that. He also knows that the AIDMK will crack up. The Congress must move in quickly to see that Tamilnadu remains under Delhi's sway. It is the only state in the South which is NOT ruled by an Opposition party. Mr. Gandhi wants to make certain that when the AIDMK does crack up more than half of it — and hopefully the politically more influential part — will team up with the Congress.

The problem of separatism and terrorism haunts the Congress leadership, and the threat of fissiparous forces frightens the Indian elite. The Indian government wants to have the Sri Lankan Tamil issue out of way and out of Tamil Nadu physically before the post-MGR crisis faces Delhi.

This explains Delhi's two-track persuasion-pressure policy; persuation vis-a-vis the TULF by Delhi and Delhi's political arm, MGR, and pressure vis-a-vis the 'boys' through Delhi's tougher arm, its intelligence agency RAW.

What accounts for the disappointment and bitterness in Madras-based Sri Lankan Tamil circles is their shared view that the pressure has been more on them than on the Colombo government. In their view this is the salient difference between the two Gandhis. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, they feel, would have put equal pressure simultaneously on both the Madras-based separatist groups as well as the UNP administration. Or, she would have allowed the situation-on-the-ground to deteriorate so badly that Colombo would have been crying for help, and therefore more amenable to granting much larger concessions than provincial councils, they argue.

It is possible to argue however that the Sri Lanka government has already made a major concession, not on the substantive issue of devolution but on the highly sensitive and potentially explosive question of the agreed modalities of popular (Sinhala) approval. President JR has said there will be no referendum or general election.

Any agreed package will obviously be placed before the UNP, the Cabinet and Parliament. Opposition MP's and sections of the press see a contradiction between the President's rejection of a direct mandate from the people and Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali's repeated assertion that any settlement will have to seek "the consent of the people". Any law student can resolve that imaginary contradiction. Parliament, after all, is the soveriegn forum of the people and the expression of their will!

Thimpu stopped with "provincial councils", though the Sri Lankan lawyers went through the motions of arguing first principles and sticking as closely as possible to where APC broke down. Thimpu 2 will be an exercise in filling an empty bag. How much power to be devolved, which areas (jobs, education, police-and-judicial powers, language and most of all, land settlement), and the checks and balances. Even if the TULF's maximum is granted, will the militants accept? If they don't, can Rajiv Gandhi pressure Colombo into coming somewhere between 'union territories" and Indian 'states'? If he does not, then the militants have to take the path recommended by the Tamil Information editorial — flight it out on native soil. Then, a field Thimpu 2 will lead to Battleground Round Two Both sides know it, and presumbaly both are preparing for it.

If that happends Mr. Gandhi's first essay in regional "conflict management' or optimistically 'conflict-resolution' will not be another APC nor a Punjab but a wreckage of a South Asian "Internal" Camp David on a smaller scale. ■

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Extracts

"DEMOCRACY IN PERIL, SRI LANKA : A COUNTRY IN CRISIS"

MONDAY AUGUST 26 1985

LAWASIA announces the publication of a comprehensive human rights report on recent developments in Sri Lanka (from July, 1983 to date), entitled "Democracy in Peril, Sri Lanka : A Country in Crisis".

This recent report is an up-date to, and incorporates, an earlier report — "Communal Violence in Sri Lanka, July, 1983".

The 483 page publication is the result of an investigation made in Sri Lanka by Patricia Hyndman, Secretary of the LAWASIA Human Rights Standing Committee, in 1983 and again in February, 1985.

The following is a summary of the contents of the up-dated section of the report :-

ESCALATING VIOLENCE

* Grievances between the Tamil and Sinhalese communities
* Some measures taken by the present government in its attempt to curb Tamil militancy and the demand for a separate state including :-
  - the Prevention of Terrorism Act
  - mass arrests of young Tamil males
  - the Sixth Amendment
  - press coverage, propaganda and censorship regulations
  - the Emergency Regulations
  - the All Party Conference
* Reprisals by members of the Security Forces
* Government actions indicating a commitment to human rights principles and to improve relations with the Tamil people
* Examples of initiatives to re-establish discourse and trust between the different communities.

EROSION OF DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW

* The 1978 Constitution and the powers it confers upon the President
* Amendments to the Constitution
* Changes — electoral laws
* Proscription of opposition parties
* Threats to the Independence of the Judiciary
* Other incidents which have tended to encourage lawlessness.

The price of the report is *A$20.00* or (US$15.00), and includes airmail postage.

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Please forward a copy of the LAWASIA Report "DEMOCRACY IN PERIL, SRI LANKA : A COUNTRY IN CRISIS" to :-

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